THEOLOGY

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF HISTORIC CHRISTIANITY

EDITED BY S. C. CARPENTER, D.D.

VOLUME XXXIII.

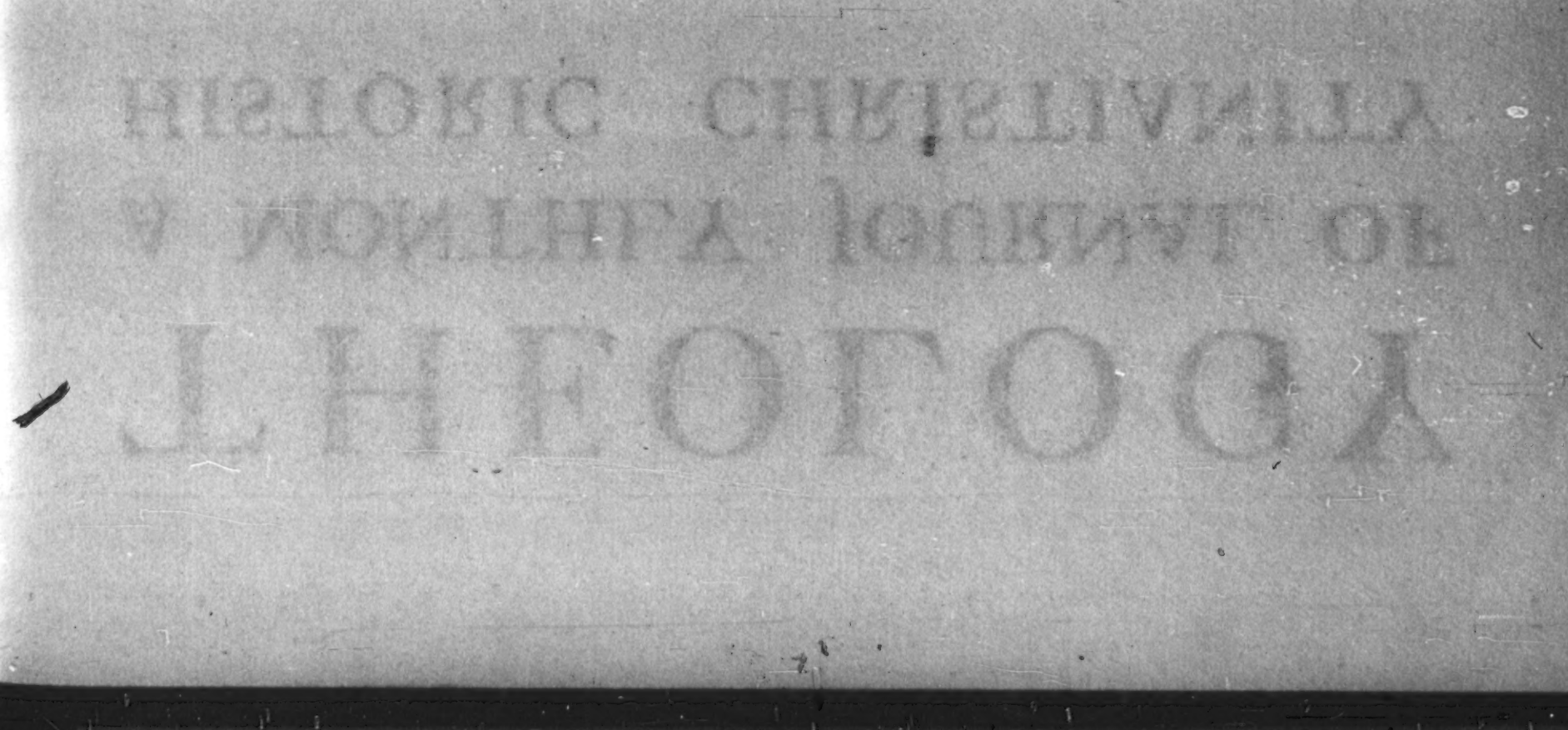
JULY—DECEMBER, 1936

LONDON

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING

CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

PLATE XXXIII



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A Monthly Journal of Historic Christianity

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Vol. XXXIII JULY, 1936 No. 193

EDITORIAL

It is possible to be offended by the calm assumption of certain politicians that the first duty of the Church is to register approval of the Government without going all the way with Mr. Wight, who contributes an important article to our columns this month. The Christian Pacifist case must be taken seriously, and if, as Mr. Wight says, the division really is between those over and those under forty years of age, then it is only a question of time before the position of the younger men prevails. Nevertheless, it does not follow that those under forty are right. There is a thoroughgoing, Barthian sort of quality about the uncompromising Pacifists which is most attractive. It is like the magnificent optimism of the child who said, "Why doesn't the King open a large shop, where the poor people who have no money could come and get what they want for nothing?" Unhappily, the problem is not so simple as all that. We find ourselves in a world which is organized in a worldly way. Is it better to maintain the high voltage and not make the contact, or to use the transformer? The one ideal is to be able to say, *Liberavi animam meam.* The other is to say, *Ego autem libentissime impendam, et superimpendar ipse pro animabus vestris.* Is it not possible to aim at both?

We have sometimes thought that there is a parallel in the world of social custom. Let us suppose that it would be a good thing if the clergy were manifestly of no particular social class, independent of financial considerations, living from day to day on the charity of the faithful. Even so, the hovels in which they lived would still be rated, their crusts would be bought with someone's money, and the medical and surgical expenses which would soon arise from their malnutrition and other causes would have to be met by somebody. Supposing that all this could somehow be arranged, ought we to work for this as soon

as possible? Or ought we to accept the fact that the clergy and the Church and its possessions are embedded in a social organism. The Church has real estate and invested funds, the clergy have houses; they are expected to dress neatly, to pay their own postage and travelling expenses, to educate such children as they may have, to exercise some hospitality. Most of them are in point of fact very poor, but it is a worldly poverty, not poverty of the kind that frees and elevates the soul. We ought no doubt to work for the elimination of all worldly poverty. But if we set ourselves to obtain greater financial security for the clergy, it is a world-accepting policy. We are committing ourselves, though not necessarily for ever, to the existing capitalistic and more or less competitive organization of society. Is that kind of world-acceptance to be condemned? Is it not a fundamental principle of the Incarnation that the Gospel has a bearing on the *status quo*. The effect of it on the *status* is corrective, even revolutionary, but it does seem necessary to begin with the condition in which we now are. Puritanism is noble, but ineffective. Acquiescence is sordid. The right course is surely to baptize. "Reconciliation to the God of Whom are all things," says Dr. Oman in the book referred to below, "is victory over the evil and the evanescent not by ignoring them, but by transforming them."

We print with pleasure Mr. Sampson's rejoinder to the criticisms of the logic of his recent article. We ourselves make no comment upon his own logic in the matter which he discusses. We only suggest that the most vulnerable point of his paper was the fact that, not having been present at the Lambeth Conference, he could not certainly know the motives of the Bishops. It is natural enough for one who begins from a quite different view-point to try, in all honesty, to imagine what could have induced men to say what the Bishops said, and then to assume that this was the inducement. There is a clear divergence between the Lambeth position and Mr. Sampson's position, and his article was a vigorous expression of his own view, but the difference lies deeper down than he suggests.

The Third Survey of *The Affairs of the Continental Churches* produced by the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations deals with the events of September, 1935, to March, 1936, in the German Evangelical Church. It is an alarming document. It is evident that there are some stout-hearted Christian men in Lutheran Germany, who do not propose to assent to any creed that is other than Christian, but it is no less certain

that severe pressure is being brought to bear on them. The specious plea is, "You can be as Christian as you like; only, no politics." This in practice means "Only our politics," and it is a step in the direction of "our paganism." The pressure is being brought to bear particularly on the German youth. Bishop Marahrens said in his New Year message, "Influential and important educative forces are waging obstinate and deliberate war against Christianity." The promoters of the German Faith Movement protest that it is not godless. This is no doubt true in so far as it has no connection with organized anti-God movements elsewhere, but it defines Christianity in a way which no Christian could possibly accept. At the Nazi soup-kitchen for children in Köln the following grace is sung:

Führer, my Führer, given me by God,
Guard and preserve my life for long days to come;
You have rescued Germany from direst need;
I thank you today for my daily bread.
Stay with me, forsake me not,
Führer, my Führer, my faith and my light,
Heil, my Führer!

The Report can be obtained (1s.) from the Press and Publications Board.

Dr. Oman's *Concerning the Ministry* (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.) lay on the table, unread, for several days, because it was unjustly assumed to be yet another book about presbyters in the New Testament and Apostolic Age. We might have known that the ex-Principal of Westminster College is too good a philosopher to turn controversialist. Anyhow, the book is really about preachers in the world of today. And very good, too. The priest does not think of himself wholly, or even first and foremost, as a preacher; but to preach is one of his most important and most difficult duties, and it is a part of ministerial work in which we have much to learn from the best Presbyterians. The book contains abundance of good counsel, much of it very practical, about introductions, divisions, endings, and about preparation, and so on. But most of the book is about the nature of the *Kerygma*, and about what manner of man the preacher ought to be. And there you have ripe Christian wisdom, expressed in a witty, penetrating, humbling and yet always constructive way.

There are many books on worship and prayer, well-written, sensible, edifying. But the Dean of Winchester's *Thoughts on Worship and Prayer* (S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d.) stands out. There is so much more stuff in it than in most of them. It is probable

enough that the life and experience of a Dean compels him to reflect a good deal on the significance of the duties which claim him for some two hours every day, and more on Sunday. If this be so, Dr. Selwyn has brought to the interpretation of his experience gifts of a very special kind. He has classical learning, acquaintance with modern literature and modern theories, the Christian temper and the Catholic outlook. To this he adds a sympathetic but always discerning knowledge of contemporary life and habits. If his counsel could be proclaimed from every pulpit, and put into practice in every Church, we should do well.

Percy Dearmer was one of the most remarkable men of his time. He was a pioneer in a number of different directions, and if some of them in recent years were not all equally congenial to the majority of our readers, there is no doubt that he was led by a sincere, even passionate love of truth. It was, indeed, his generous love of truth which sometimes misled him. He found it round every corner. It almost seemed to him that everything was true. The religion of the best Englishmen was Catholicism in the best sense of the word, and all new discoveries, especially if they were quite, quite new, confirmed the Faith. The Church of England was the natural home of all good Englishmen. This was refreshing, but it was overgenerous, even a little spendthrift. And there was a tendency to deny evil, and to eliminate the Cross from Christianity, which could not be approved. Yet how good his optimism was. And how many friends he had in the worlds of literature and art, who remained with the Church because he was in its ministry and commended it to them. He had brilliant gifts. And he has splendid service to his credit. Much of it was hard, laborious work, as Secretary of the London Branch of the Christian Social Union. Rather Socialistic the London Branch was then, and there used to be controversy with the Oxford Branch, which was all for research and not at all for incursions into politics, and Holland had to keep the peace. But Dearmer was a researcher, too, and was familiar with the facts of sweating, leadless glaze, "phossy jaw," and all those lines of enquiry wherein the Church shewed the way to what we now call the Social Services. Dearmer was not a profound theologian or sociologist, but he knew how to read things up at the Museum, and he was a first-rate popularizer. *The Parson's Handbook* was of immense value to the Church. It was an emancipation. Hardly anyone, except a few scholars, knew anything about the English Use or the Ornaments Rubric, and, till he shamed us out of it, we were sadly the slaves of vulgarity in Church furnish-

ing. Dearmer made the facts available to the young curate and the churchwarden, and he gave his references. *The English Hymnal* owed much to him. His own preference in after years was for *Songs of Praise*, which was a sad misjudgment, though again a witness to his generosity. But he was one of the producers of the Hymnal, for which *Laus Deo*. Even in later days, when he was moving, as some of us thought, in queer directions, his wit, his courage, and his charity were singular gifts of the Holy Ghost. *Requiescat.*

Of G. K. Chesterton in his Anglican days the Editor has many recollections. The earliest of all is a sentence in one of his replies to Blatchford's anti-Christian articles in the *Clarion*. It was always said that by writing these replies Chesterton strengthened his own hold on Christian belief. Blatchford has said that faith was as old as the hills. "Yes," said Chesterton, "and scepticism is as old as the flat country." Another recollection is of walking in front of him every day for a week at the Church Pageant at Fulham. One of the pair was Dr. Johnson; the other was Bishop Thomas Wilson of Sodor and Man. Is it necessary to say which was which? At this pageant somebody came up to him behind the scenes, and said: "Sir, this is rank Popery." "Why, no, sir," was his instant retort. Another memory is of an address by him at the London C.S.U. in St. Paul's Chapter House. He exposed the fallacies of the supposed "common Christianity" of undenominationalism in this way. Imagine, he suggested, that there had come about some union between the Roman and Anglican Churches, and that it was agreed to teach the lives of the Apostles, as common ground. If the Romans then said, "There is no time to teach all the Apostles; let us teach about St. Peter," the inference would be swiftly drawn. So undenominationalism, by leaving out certain things, inevitably disparages them. One more memory is of his ill-suppressed chuckles during one of Scott Holland's Lent C.S.U. Sermons in a city church. The sermon was a very searching and witty modern application of the Gospel story of the children in the market-place.

Chesterton's own early books, especially *Heretics* and *Orthodoxy*, were read and re-read by the young Christians of that time. It is a pleasant recollection that the Editor's own copy of *Orthodoxy* was given to him by Mr. H. G. Wood. Figgis reviewed it in *Commonwealth* under the title of "Scrumptious!" Chesterton went out from us because it seemed to him that security was to be found elsewhere. But he was never bitter.

Bitterness was not in him. With all his splendid intellectual gifts, his extraordinary power of clear thought and of lucid and often noble words, he was a very simple Christian soul, loving all that was good, hating all that was evil. There is no space here to write of his many battles for free Christian thinking and free Christian living, but it may be said in all seriousness that his riotous, fantastic story, *The Man who was Thursday*, is a book to be remembered every Holy Week. And now he has done what Innocent Smith did—in fact, what the heroes of his books always did—he has gone through the world in order to have the comfortable happiness of discovering his own home. *Requiescat.*

Montague Rhodes James was unique—a man of massive, gigantic learning, devoted to letters, to the English countryside, to Eton and King's. All these devotions, any one of which in its intensity would have taxed the capacity of most of us, he made part of his simple, child-like Christian life. There was a time when at Cambridge there was not a little rebellion among some of the brighter spirits against the Christian tradition. But always it was checked by the recollection of the Provost of King's, learned and beloved, with his Church-loving, Bible-loving piety. The man who could elicit such tributes from the young as were printed in *The Times* of June 15 was of rare value to the world. Becoming Vice-Chancellor in October, 1914, he had the duty of commemorating those members of the University who had fallen in the war. He spoke of them as "those members of our body who have passed from this life into that other state of life to which God has called them." And now he has passed into that other state himself. He is armed with a minute knowledge of everything that either Jewish or Christian speculation has imagined of it. In a deeper sense he is armed by the possession of a character which never made an enem. *Requiescat.*

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SACRAMENTS OF THE CHURCH AND THE SACRAMENTS OF NATURE

SACRAMENTS are in no way peculiar to Christianity. In the most general sense of the term they may be defined as physical acts, concerned with material objects, through the correct use of which, in a religious context, it is believed that some spiritual result is effected within the spiritual life of a human being. The fundamental idea which lies behind the Christian interpretation of the Sacraments is that they are essentially manifestations of Divine Grace. They require for their adequate understanding to be set in the context of the Gospel. They presuppose a Christian theology which affirms the transcendence of God over His creation and His full redemptive activity in and through history—a theology which also holds firmly to the idea of the Divine initiative, and which conceives of the Divine Nature in free, living and personal terms. It has therefore always been held that if the reception of the Sacraments of the Christian Church is to be instrumental to certain spiritual effects, it is so simply by virtue of Divine appointment. The whole of the instrumental efficacy ascribed to them is assumed to be freely conferred on them by Divine volition.

Now the question which we must face is whether it is rational to believe that certain specific things may be, by free Divine appointment, channels or vehicles of Divine Grace. If it can be shewn that the Sacraments are manifestations in particular instances of principles which run right through the universe, and not something which has no relation or analogy to the rest of experience, we believe that the reasonableness of the Christian doctrine of the Sacraments can be proved.

In order to do this we must shew that there are two principles which run throughout the created universe, and then relate these two principles to the Sacraments of the Church. The two principles are, first, that matter is able to be the vehicle of spirit, and, second, that purpose, as the expression of a will, is a rational explanation of the universe.

In the first place we should notice the change which has taken place in regard to the scientific conception of the nature of matter. There was a time when matter was thought to be dead and brute. Few physicists think that today. Clerk-Maxwell, for instance, says that "we are acquainted with matter only as that which may have energy communicated to it, and

which may in its turn communicate energy to other matter." When we ask, What is energy ? the same writer says, "Energy, on the other hand, we know only as that which in all natural phenomena is continually passing from one portion of matter to another." Matter is therefore defined in terms of energy, and energy again in terms of matter. On the whole, we may regard matter as a special manifestation of energy, and vital functions can be viewed as the actualizing of inherent potentialities. Supposing that a pair of mice were shut up together and then after a time a few more mice appear. The only explanation of this is that certain germ potentialities were brought into conditions which favoured their development, and that the vital and psychic factors were evolved continuously with the material. From this it would seem that for all forms of existence above the inorganic plane, matter not only supplies the basis or scaffolding on which the higher modes of existence are constructed, but also possesses within itself hidden potentialities which develop according to the character of the conditions in which their lot is cast.

In recent years there has been a revival of Vitalism. This theory is as old as Aristotle, but in the last century there was a complete break away from it, with the possible exception of William James, in favour of the mechanical explanation of the universe, which regarded matter as being dead and brute. But through the teaching of Lange, Cope, Driesch, and Bergson, Vitalism has come once more into favour. The chief interest which lies in this theory so far as we are concerned is the belief that matter can be used as a vehicle of vital force. Mr. Joad, who is an exponent of Vitalism, says that "using the language of metaphor we may say that life enters into matter, animates it and gives form and shape to its material setting" (*Matter, Life, and Value*, p. 139). There are, of course, differences of opinion among the Vitalists: some regard the life force as being inherent in matter, and others that it transcends the material world in which it finds some kind of a home. But it is sufficient for our present purpose to notice that the modern conception of matter leaves the door open for the Christian doctrine of the Sacraments without doing violence to our reason.

The Archbishop of York in various books has expressed the opinion that the principle that runs throughout the universe is that each grade is dependent for its existence on those grades which are lower than it in the scale of values, and also that each grade is dependent for its full actualization on the grade or grades which are above. Thus material things only reveal their full potentialities when life possesses and indwells them. Life only reveals what it really is when mind supervenes upon it.

But life is unknown, so far as we know, apart from living organisms, which consist of matter informed with life. Mind in its turn only shews its full powers when it is guided by spirit, but mind is unknown except in reasoning, living organisms. To the religious man spirit only reveals what it can be and do when it is possessed by God. But spirit is unknown except in conscientious, reasoning, living organisms. Thus each lower stratum of reality exists to be the vehicle of the higher, and this is antecedently possible because matter itself possesses the potentialities of life.

Existence as a whole, therefore, is spiritual. The material is simply the lowest plane or mode. It is the foundation for subsequent stages which expand and realize its implicit powers and virtues. God being Thought, Will and Love, the world which manifests Him must be essentially the same. And this fact invests the smallest phenomenon, material or otherwise, with dignity and meaning. Ultimately every grade is a partial manifestation of God; everything, except God, exists to be the expression of God. As Carlyle puts it: "Through every star, through every blade of grass, through every human soul, the glory of a present God still beams."

If this principle were not true we should not be able to use matter in the service of our higher nature. For consider the body of a really great and good man. It has its place in his total experience; it declares its needs and imposes its conditions. But it is made to minister to the functions of reason, imagination and moral sense, which are far removed from the functions of the body on the purely material plane. The secular equivalent of grace is the spiritual influence of one human soul upon another, but in practically all cases this influence is mediated through the body, which is matter. Matter is not abolished, it remains the basis, but it is taken up, transformed, sublimated, in the higher stages of the process.

The same is true of the world of nature in its narrower sense. However unalterable and external to ourselves the beauties of nature may appear, they are factors in the moral and spiritual order. No one who has read John Ruskin's *Modern Painters* will hastily deny that the beauties of nature reach out into the eternal and carry us with them to God. There is much to justify the claim so often made that men can find the presence of God in the fields and lanes of the countryside. The heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament sheweth His handiwork.

Being assured, therefore, that it is reasonable to claim that matter can be the vehicle of spirit, and that this is a principle which runs throughout the universe and belongs to the very

structure of Reality, we can see the appropriateness of the Christian Church receiving and holding certain particular ordinances by means of which the great events and realities of the spiritual life are symbolized and enhanced by the outward. Up to this stage in our discussion we may say that the Sacraments of the Christian Church are means, typical of a universal law, which not only convey to us the assurance of a real and spiritual fact, but enable us to develop the appreciation of the universality of the spiritual, and help us so to live as to employ and embody spiritual grace through every channel. Through particular means, singularly adapted to our human characters and needs, we are led into a way of life of which they are typical expressions and for which they should be effective agents.

We are constrained, however, to admit that there are degrees in the presence of God in the universe. Some aspects of Creation reveal the Divine more than others. This does not mean that only a small part of God is present in a stone and a much larger part in a human person. The Christian doctrine of God is that He is present in the fulness of His Being at every point of space and in every moment of time, though at the same time transcending the whole of Creation. In view of this it is better to say that there are degrees of significance. Some elements of nature are more fully indicative of the intention and mind of God than others. This degree of significance must depend upon the purpose of God, because value has meaning only as it is related to purpose. The universe is the expression of the purpose of God: it derives its origin from the Creative Will. Furthermore, the most fundamental element in things is their value, and this value is determined by the purpose of the Creative Will of God.

It is a significant fact that at the very time many psychologists and sociologists are doing their utmost to banish purpose from the field of consciousness, students of physical science in increasing numbers are finding purpose in the universe. We find mathematicians like Whitehead and astronomers like Eddington reaffirming the idea of purpose, not in a pluralistic fashion, but as a cosmic fact which alone gives an adequate basis for the lesser values that we discover in the universe.

The reasons which have led to this reaffirmation are too well known to repeat here. It will be enough to say that the cardinal fact lies in the theory that evolution is emergent or creative. It is creative not only in the sense that it cannot wholly be accounted for by its antecedents, but in the sense that now it is here it lends itself to uses and gives birth to elements which without its presence could not have been. The very

phrase " emergent evolution " is an open confession that there is something present in the cosmological process which might not be there if the word " evolution " were given its face meaning. And it should be noted that giving a name to a theory does not explain the theory. Because we say that evolution is creative we are not excused from supplying an explanation for the creative act. A real contingency has to be recognized as a genuine and omnipresent feature in the cosmic process. The term contingency originated with the Schoolmen, but it is as old as Western philosophy. In modern times it signifies an irrational element in the universe as opposed to physical and logical necessity. By irrational we mean " beyond the limits of human knowledge." The things which happen in the universe do not merely obey " law," but manifest certain modes of behaviour: laws are rather descriptions of the habits of matter. Eddington has adopted the hypothesis that most, if not all, the laws of nature are only " statistical averages." And Dr. Whitehead, in his book *Process and Reality*, speaks of events as making " decisions." We think that it is reasonable to argue that if there are degrees of contingency, that is of spontaneous will, in the happenings of nature, there may be corresponding degrees of contingency in the purpose which formulates their behaviour. This purpose resides in the Will of God; as Whitehead says, the creative element we find in nature is due to the eternal decision of God. That is to say, the universe serves God's purpose and reveals His Will.

Now just as it is the free purpose of God which gives everything its value, according to its place in the larger pattern of the universe, so do we find that purpose has the power of changing the value of things. This can be seen most clearly on the human plane. Material objects change their value according to human purpose. For example, red, white and blue strips of calico may have no significance, but if these strips represent in my mind the Union Jack they are charged with great value, and may be the cause of a lot of unpleasantness if they are deliberately dragged in the mud.

Similarly it is reasonable to suppose that the value of material objects may be changed according to the mind and purpose of God. There is nothing arbitrary in this proceeding. What is arbitrary, perhaps, is the actual matter used for the Sacraments of the Christian Church, though it would be hard to discover more significant symbols to be the effective signs of that which they represent. There is nothing unique in the principle that purpose should have the power of transvaluation, though the application of that principle may produce something unique.

The transvaluation, for instance, of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ is a particular expression of that creative aspect of things which meets us wherever we touch life, and most clearly of all in personality. The Scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation has many points of contact with this principle of transvaluation. This will become apparent if it is agreed that the most fundamental thing in the universe is value. Mr. Will Spens in *Essays Catholic and Critical* says that the philosophy of transvaluation translated into Scholastic terms "would involve the assertion that the substance of the Eucharistic Body and Blood is the substance of that body and blood which our Lord assumed at His incarnation" (p. 443).

It is tempting, of course, to separate the value of anything from the thing itself. But this is an impossible proceeding: you cannot separate the goodness of a boy from the boy himself, or the natural properties of a florin from its purchasing value. If Christ has the value of God, He is God, and if the Bread and Wine, in the mind and purpose of God, have the value of the Body and Blood of Christ, they are the Body and Blood of Christ. In other words, the Sacraments partake of the reality of the thing signified, and this is the universal principle of all effective symbols.

The principles, then, involved in the Sacraments of the Christian Church are principles which run throughout the created order: first, material things are the vehicles of that which is greater than themselves; second, the value which is conveyed is determined by the Will of God, and, subordinate to this, the value which the Divine Will confers upon the material object cannot be separated from that material object so long as the purpose of God in the appointed context is being fulfilled.

E. KENNETH LEE.

CHRISTIAN PACIFISM

CHRISTIAN pacifism is more consistently misrepresented by Christians than by non-Christians. English agnosticism, because of its Protestant origin, has usually tended to see Quakerism as the finest expression of Christianity, and the growing Christian pacifist movement is often referred to in the left-wing press as a sign that "the Christian Churches are at last beginning to take Christianity seriously." Apart from the Roman Catholics, the most tenacious opposition to pacifism in England comes from the older men of the Anglican and Free Churches: it has

been said that the cleavage is between those over forty and those under. Ministers of State who are Churchmen, and clergy who are inclined to take their political and social context for granted, are most outspoken in condemning a movement which their words suggest that they scarcely understand. It is worth outlining once more what the Christian pacifist believes, and where he differs from his fellow-Christian who holds the traditional doctrine of the just war.

The core of pacifism is the belief that it is never right to take human life. It is nothing to do with quietism in the sense of immoral apathy and passivity. It is not the organization of mass-cowardice. It does not condemn all use of force. It does not assert that there is nothing worth fighting for. It does not make an unconditional surrender to evil. It does not believe in peace at any price. Its basis is not utilitarian.

The Christian pacifist bases his thesis on two conclusions drawn from the Gospels. (1) The message of the Incarnation was a message of peace. Constant and mutual love was to be the distinctive mark of members of the new society. The glorification of God and the pacification of men were the business of the Church no less than the angels' theme at the Nativity. The unity of the Mystical Body was the effect of abiding charity through grace. But the peace of Christ was not a negative tranquillity. It was a consistent and unflinching state of mind and way of life, which challenged and survived any violence or catastrophe. "Peace I leave with you; My peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be fearful." As a commentary on that were those other words, "I came not to send peace, but a sword." For the early Christians their devotion to Christ brought the sword in the most literal sense. It brought peace too, but not as the world gives: a higher integration on the spiritual plane. There was no avoidance or elimination of conflict, but victory through conflict. The victory was won by means which the Hebrew prophets had foreshadowed, and which the pagan world at its best, Socrates and Virgil, had only half seen. "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another."

(2) The new commandment of love was absolute because the Incarnation, through its derivative the Church, gave everyone the possibility of fulfilling it. Christian charity, as the saints have proved, was unlimited in its scope and entire in its practice. The Christian theory of obligation was universalist: the Sermon on the Mount enjoined charity towards enemies

as well as friends. The method of charity was reconciliatory: non-resistance and forgiveness were enjoined as the mark of it. "Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil." There follow four concrete instances of overcoming evil with good: non-resistance to violence, to legal proceedings, and to the demands of the State, and compliance with personal requests. "Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you." These were not particular injunctions; they were definitive and binding rules for the whole Church. They concluded with resounding words to refute the contention that there can be a minimum subscription to the Christian society: "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect."

If you take these precepts seriously, there can be no controversy about the rightfulness of defending yourself by the use of force: it is wrong. In proportion as you rely upon the noble art of self-defence rather than the moral force of non-resistance, you are evading obedience to our Lord's totalitarian mandate. But the exercise of force on behalf of someone else presents more difficult problems. Two outstanding incidents in the Gospel are relevant. Our Lord Himself used force to vindicate His Father's rights, when He cleansed the Temple of the money-changers. He took a scourge of ropes and drove out the men and their animals and overthrew their tables, the classic instance of divine wrath and consecrated force; yet He would not have emptied the Temple had He been relying on physical violence rather than on moral indignation. One Man overcame many because coercion was the expression of spiritual power, and not a substitute for it. The other incident was when He reproved Peter for attacking the high priest's servant. Christ was shewing the example of His own words, "Resist not him that is evil," and being willing to suffer, He would not let others defend Him by force. To deny the validity of this instance of non-resistance because His arrest was an essential part of the Passion and the divine plan of Redemption is to deny the validity of His whole life as the pattern of human endeavour. There can be no disharmony between His redemptive Godhead and His exemplary Manhood. As God, He might have called upon His Father's angels; but being God-Man, He shewed the solution of the problem which is at once the unique sacrifice and an imperative command.

From these considerations the pacifist derives his belief that the Christian use of force is neither vindictive nor purely coercive, but redemptive. It is distinguished, first, by the

attitude of mind it implies in the user, and, secondly, by the limitations which its nature imposes upon it. I shall refer to the former in a moment. Of the latter, one limitation in particular is self-evident and sharply defined: that it is sinful to take human life. Killing is the exact contrary of redemptive force: it is annihilation, not recreation; it means giving up the attempt to redeem. Consecrated force, like surgery, aims at healing and renewing, not at destroying its object. The consecrated use of force can no more cut across the Commandment "Thou shalt not kill" than the consecrated use of sex can cut across the Commandment "Thou shalt not commit adultery." A Christian may sacrifice no life but his own, and he may only dispose of that on God's behalf or his neighbour's. The Christian's right to defend a third person against attack ends just where it is impossible to protect the third person by sacrificing his own life, or by anything short of killing the attacker instead of letting the attacker kill; and it hopes for a state of mind in the third person like our Lord's attitude, when He would not let His friends protect Him by taking the sword. The right to be defended is limited no less than the right of self-defence, and neither can involve the killing of the attacker. No man has greater love than this, not that he kill on behalf of his friends, but that he lay down his life for them. Taking life, like giving it, is God's business and not yours or mine.

To accept such a position means a complete reorientation of social and political values. What is called civilization has always been based, to a much greater extent than most people care to consider, on the arbitrary termination of one man's life by another. No State has ever relinquished its legal right to kill its own citizens, and Members of the League have only surrendered their right to kill aliens in so far as they have delegated the initiative to the League Council. The Christian pacifist must affirm the logic of his belief, and reject ancient conventions that justify killing as uncompromisingly as he condemns criminal murders. He must oppose capital punishment, because that institution, on the most favourable analysis, implies that its victim is incapable of reform and must be exterminated: an assumption that nobody, judge, juror, nor politician, has the right to make. He must condemn the shooting down of rioters and strikers, and the bombing of tribesmen on our imperial frontiers. He must insist that organized crime and vice can be suppressed by better means than G-Men, means not only morally right, but therefore more effective in the long run for social purposes. He must condemn, in common with the Roman Church and the weight of Christian tradition, the

immorality of abortion and euthanasia. Above all, he must condemn, in opposition to the Roman Church and the tradition of Augustine and Aquinas, the immorality of war.

St. Augustine's doctrine of war was moulded by his experience of the army as the main bulwark of the Roman Empire. He equated the rightful war with police-work, and described it as the instrument of justice: it must be declared by lawful authority, directed towards a lawful object, and waged by lawful means. The doctrine was developed by St. Thomas and Vittoria, Suarez and Taparelli; it has had an unchallenged domination over the mind of Roman Catholicism; and it is incorporated in the Thirty-Nine Articles.* Through Grotius it influenced the conception of international law as the expression of the law of nature. In the context of late Roman and feudal Europe it was a reasonable and civilizing attempt to control the use of military force: believing in the rule of natural law, the Church sought as far as possible to arm the law and to disarm the litigant. But it was a result of the interaction of Christianity and Stoicism which represented the wisdom of the Roman philosopher-jurist more than that of the Christian saint. The splendid compromise identifying the divine plan with the Pax Romana preserved the civilization of Rome, but sometimes obscured the supra-cultural character of the Church and the perpetual validity of the Sermon on the Mount. In particular it failed to justify its assumption that the sanctions of natural law were physical as well as spiritual, and that the power of charity was seen in the legionary as well as in the martyr. The root of the just-war doctrine was the contention that the morality binding on individuals was not binding on the State, and that the Christian prince might do things in his official capacity which were forbidden to him as a man. To the Christian pacifist this dualism is no legitimate development from the Gospel, but an attempt to lower its standards. He is convinced by none of the arguments that seek to square warfare with the teaching of our Lord. Christ commended the Centurion's faith, not his profession: He blessed the Magdalen's faith too. Men's characters were more important to Him than their occupations, and He left it to them to understand that His service was incompatible with slavery or usury, prostitution or war. He used striking military metaphors in His teaching because the simile of warfare exactly fitted the

* In the Latin version the Thirty-Seventh Article runs, "Christianis licet, ex mandato magistratus, arma portare, et justa bella administrare." Mr. G. M. Young has recently argued, in *The Times* of April 29, 1936, that the English and Latin versions do not disagree, because "justum bellum" means no more than a war undertaken by sovereign authority; in which case the Anglican Church pledged itself without reservation to support the judgment of the Tudor State in matters of international morality.

Christian life, but He taught the use of spiritual and not physical weapons. Consecrated force is the means of charity and subservient to that end, and to the Christian pacifist it is blasphemous to say that by killing a man you can express your charity in Christ Jesus either for him or for some other person whom you hope to advantage or defend.

The just-war doctrine teaches that competent authority, for what it considers the vindication of justice, and using none but decent means, may take human life. It is a persuasive conception because it is pre-eminently reasonable, and with these restrictions the right to kill seems well enough guarded from abuse. But it is a lawyer's doctrine; like all legalities it is concerned more with particular conditions than with eternal truths. For being incompatible with the Sermon on the Mount, it is in the long run unworkable. It is out of touch with human nature: it tries to erect a moral compromise into a law, which is the shortest way to discredit all morality. To demand perfection will always evoke a response from the divine in man, while the demand for a standard that makes concessions to human frailty has already undermined its own authority. Our Lord's demands were absolute, the Church's have too often been qualified. This is the essence of pharisaism, the legalization of the second-best, the low morality that becomes a cloak for the sins that it condemns. The moral law cannot be abrogated because of particular conditions, whether it is the ethic that condemns birth-control or the ethic that condemns killing. Concessions to human nature bulk larger in men's minds as the conditions on which they were granted grow dim, and the logical outcome is moral anarchy.

To maintain that war can ever be just strikes the same kind of blow at the Christian doctrine of force as the condonation of birth-control strikes at Christian sexual morality. For nearly ten centuries the Church attempted to give effect to the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, and the saying "Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine" received a sincere if irregular expression in her practice. The examples of early Christian pacifism are familiar to all students of the subject. Many Christians were martyred for refusing military service on the grounds of the iniquity of bloodshed, though perhaps more suffered for the refusal to commit idolatry. Tertullian was a rigorous opponent of military service. Origen defended the higher patriotism of pacifism based on prayer. St. Cyprian called war nothing but mass-murder. Lactantius made a root-and-branch attack on violation of the sanctity of human life: "When God prohibits killing, He not only forbids us to commit brigandage, which is not allowed even by the public laws; but He warns us that not

even those things which are regarded as legal among men are to be done. And so it will not be lawful for a just man to serve as a soldier, since justice itself is his warfare, nor to accuse anyone of a capital offence, since it makes no difference whether thou killest with a sword or with a word, since killing itself is forbidden. And so in this commandment of God no exception at all ought to be made that it is always wrong to kill a man, whom God willed to be a sacred animal."* Lactantius loved Rome as much as Augustine, and thought that her fall would be the end of all things, but he did not seek to defend her by taking the sword. This strong tradition survived the conversion of the Empire; the Augustinian doctrine was the reflection of the new political position of the Church and her interest in the stability of society, but it did not triumph for a considerable time. St. Basil had advised that those who killed in battle should be refused the Sacrament for three years; in the eighth and ninth centuries such penances continued to be imposed; as late as 1087 the Papal Legate approved a list of them drawn up by a council at Winchester. Pope Nicholas I. gave expression to this whole pacifist tradition in the words: "The Church knows only one sword, the sword of the spirit which does not kill, but gives life."†

But the Church was putting up a steadily decreasing resistance to the pressure of political necessity; the final capitulation came with the Crusades, when she deliberately descended to the mundane level and organized aggression for her own purposes. The just-war doctrine was her excuse throughout the Middle Ages, although no mediæval war (with the possible exception of St. Joan's), and still less any modern one, has conformed to the Thomist requirements for justification. Since the decline of the mediæval period the Church has ceased to exercise any restraint on warfare. The chief historical function of the Eastern and Protestant national Churches has been to provide a religious façade for the State, and their subservience to governmental domination produced the Marxist belief that Christianity was nothing but the ideology of the middle-class order of society. Anglican claims to represent a primitive catholicity have not made the history of the Church of England any different in this respect. The interests of British commerce and finance have been consecrated by ecclesiastical Hegelianism as the movement of God in the world, and the ruling classes are still supported by the episcopate in declaring that since British institutions and British imperialism have divine approbation, it

* *De Divinis Institutionibus*, vi. 20.

† Quoted in Stratmann's *The Church and War*, p. 123, where there is a very sympathetic and appreciative account of early Christian pacifism.

is a Christian duty to defend them by force.* Even international Roman Catholicism has tended to give its unqualified support to nationalist forces in each country. Isolated declarations by men like St. Alfonso Liguori, and the slow realization among Roman Catholics at least in this country that under modern conditions it is impossible for war to be just,† appear to have borne no relation to the views of the Vatican. Through the successive stages of the Hundred Years', the Thirty Years', and the Revolutionary Wars, down to 1914 and 1935, the European groups have increased in intensity and scope their powers of destroying each other; and any relation between organized force and morals has been lost for centuries. The Church preserved Western civilization when the Roman Empire fell, but simplified her task by compromising with military force. As the result, Mussolini's sin is "the triumphal joy of a great and good people,"‡ and Western civilization is today about to commit suicide in what the German General Staff, with such felicity of description, have christened in anticipation "the total war." It is easy to make a bargain with the Devil, and impossible to see that he keeps it.

The League of Nations is the common-sense solution of international anarchy, and it is the organization of the just-war doctrine; future historians will record the irony that one of the chief reasons for its failure to establish peace and justice was the Roman Catholic Church's refusal to give it support. But neither the secular ideal of Geneva on the one hand, nor the periphrastic evasions of the Holy See and the support given by Anglican bishops to the recruiting campaign on the other, represent the Sermon on the Mount, which in its literal entirety is the basis of the Christian pacifist's attitude to war. That attitude means more than the individual refusal to fight. It

* *E.g.*, report in *The Times*, May 26, 1936, of Dr. Winnington Ingram's address at the opening of the Spring Session of the London Diocesan Conference at Church House, Westminster: "That extreme pacifism, which prevented young men joining the Territorials, held back recruits from the Army, and even discouraged clergy from acting as Territorial Chaplains, was absolutely hastening war. If that had been our policy in 1914, either the German Emperor or Hitler would be in Whitehall today, and that freedom for which our forefathers fought for 2,000 years would be at an end. Nothing in the world would induce him to believe that that was the will of God."

† *E.g.*, Rev. Raymond O'Flynn, in an address to the Liverpool diocesan branch of the Catholic Truth Society, reported in the *Catholic Herald*, October 25, 1935: "A Christian, therefore, can hardly join in modern war with a safe conscience. . . . Everything considered, a Christian nowadays has to be a 'conscientious objector'"; and Father Martindale, writing in the *Catholic Herald*, May 22, 1936: "We think, anyway, that it is almost impossible nowadays to have a 'just' war, if only because history at long last should have taught us that war is useless; and, because how judge of justice? Who can really judge of what the financiers are about behind the scenery?"

‡ Address by Pius XI., at the opening of the Vatican Press Exhibition, reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, May 13, 1936.

entails active attack on the causes of war. Peace and justice must be sought by an immediate policy as well as by a contingent resolution. A minimum policy of this sort in England must include unilateral disarmament pending a disarmament conference, surrender of the Crown Colonies and Mandates to international administration by the League, abolition of tariff barriers, and unqualified co-operation with the I.L.O. and the League's organization of the international law of peace. The Christian pacifist who is not insistent in furthering these aims has no right to the name.

The consecrated use of force cannot justify war because it cannot justify killing. But a prohibition is only negative: it sets the limits without determining the spirit. The refusal to fight and to kill may itself arise from ignoble motives, and force that stops short of killing can be put to every kind of misuse. To make it the expression of charity is its only justification, and with the growth of charity in the individual his need to use force will diminish. The final aim of the Christian pacifist is the sanctification of the State and the consecration of State force. A country that refuses to wage war has achieved nothing if it continues to tolerate the Means Test, the distressed areas, and complacence about slum-conditions. It is a sin to kill a man, but it is no less a sin to keep him alive in the British prisons in India, the concentration-camps in Russia, the ghetto of Germany, or in the perpetual misery of unemployment. Military and political warfare is the result, in the modern world, of the continual economic and financial warfare which is the dynamic of bourgeois society; and the Christian pacifist is a pacifist in both spheres. He shares the ideals of the Communist, who uses class-war as the instrument of social justice, and of the orthodox theologian, who condones war as the instrument of international justice; but he believes that their ideals are belied by their methods, for violence breeds no lasting peace.

It is a just and striking commentary upon the Church that the renunciation of violence has come back to the West, not through secular idealists, nor even through the Quakers, whose attitude has not yet won due appreciation, but through the example of a Hindu saint. Gandhi shewed that *Satyagraha*, the "vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but one's own self,"* can be used on a large scale as a political weapon against oppression and injustice. In Gandhi's evolution of *Satyagraha* the Christian pacifist sees the rediscovery of the distinctively Christian technique of social

* Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress, 1920, vol. i., chap. iv.

and political activity, which revolutionized the Roman Empire in three hundred years, and which ought to be the pattern and ideal of modern Catholic Action: the organized application of the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. Pacifism in England is mainly organized on a non-religious basis, and though its immediate vitality and influence is admirable, as a secular creed of non-violence it will never maintain its dynamic power. For the Christian pacifist his pacifism is not a psychological technique or a set of social-reformist principles, but something inseparable from his religion, part of a life that can only be lived through divine grace. The man who says pacifism is a superhuman and unnatural ideal is expressing the truth with theological exactitude, for it is a supernatural ideal, and if it is to be more than the ephemeral hope of a disillusioned generation it must be sought with supernatural aid. And because he sees the pacifist issue in its context as part of the Christian life, the Christian pacifist will not have exaggerated hopes of his success. "The Catholic," says Eliot, "should have high ideals —or rather I should say *absolute* ideals—and moderate expectations; the heretic, whether he call himself fascist, or communist, or democrat, or rationalist, always has low ideals and great expectations." Secular pacifists conform to the heretic type; they expect too much from renunciation of violence because they underestimate the wickedness of men. The amount of evil in the world remains pretty constant; and my refusal to fight will not obliterate the doctrines of *Mein Kampf* nor change the state of mind of its author. Christian pacifism is a long-range policy in the spirit of Bishop Fell's words, "Events are in the Hands of God but Duty is in ours," and it is certain that it will not triumph until one nation at least has offered itself as a voluntary sacrifice in the cause of peace. Pacifists need to think out a comprehensive concrete policy, but they need far more to put their valuation of human life in the context of a consistent philosophy which sees human nature and the modern world in true perspective. When they do so they will not look for quick results, but they will go to work with a faith that has deeper roots.

MARTIN WIGHT.

QUIETISM AND PIETISM: SOME IMPLICATIONS

THERE is a curious link between Fénelon and Wesley which can be traced through the fact that Wesley, who was certainly not uninfluenced by Lutheran forms of Pietism, was also

familiar with the works of Madame Guyon; and to the part which he played in the controversy associated with her name it is well known that Fénelon owed his popularity as a writer, in England at any rate.

On its passive side Lutheranism sustains a position which is closely allied to Quietism. Bishop Butler, in the preface to certain Sermons preached at the chapel of the Rolls Court, refers directly to the "question which was a few years ago disputed in France concerning the love of God, which was there called enthusiasm, as it will be everywhere by the generality of the world; this question, I say, answers in religion to the old one in morals now mentioned. And both of them are, I think, fully determined by the same observation—namely, that the very nature of affection, the idea itself, necessarily implies resting in its object as an end."

The Bishop deals more fully with the matter in two sermons upon self-love and the love of God. He, however, grants that "when we are commanded to love the Lord God, with all our heart, and with all our mind, and with all our soul, somewhat more must be meant than merely that we live in hope of rewards or fear of punishments from Him; somewhat more than this must be intended, though these regards themselves are most just and reasonable, and absolutely necessary to be often recollected in such a world as this." Butler could have been in no manner of doubt concerning the significance of Quietism. Heiler has reminded us that when it was expelled in its more extreme form from the Roman Church it was welcomed by Protestants. In Arnold Tersteegan it found an admirable vehicle for its expression. It has also been shewn by Heiler how mediæval Mysticism, as "determined by St. Augustine," achieved "a new and original apprehension in St. Teresa. . . . The great Quietist Mystics who followed exerted a strong influence upon both Lutherans and Reformed. . . . "Lutheran Mysticism, which fuses the Bible religion of Luther with Bernard's Jesus Mysticism and Tauler's Mysticism of the infinite, finds classical expression in Johan Arndt, whereas the reformed Mysticism, in which the Hispano-French Quietism meets mediæval and reformed ideas, possesses in Tersteegan its most highly gifted representative. Thus the two great lines of development, Mysticism and the religion of revelation, constantly cross, separate, and unite in the history of the Christian Religion."*

Long before the day of Butler the Spanish School had made itself felt in England. Thus Father Herbert Thurston has shewn how there was a constant demand for devotional litera-

* *Cf.* Heiler, *Prayer*, pp. 118-119.

ture of a foreign character "during the reigns of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts."* Again, Dr. Hagedorn in a recent work has called attention to the many Anglican adaptations of Roman books of devotion, instancing the popularity of the well-known Fra Luis de Granada.† There appears very good reason for believing that both the earlier Spanish School and the later Salesian School of Piety, which belong to the Counter-Reformation in its earlier and later stages, had far more influence upon Anglican piety than we are or have been willing to concede. Here we may recall the words of the late M. Bremond: "I would fain have shewn how among Anglicans of the first half of the seventeenth century was produced a temper analogous to French Devout Humanism, a foreshadowing of the Oxford Movement, thus shewing how the influence of French writers, notably of St. François de Sales, was felt across the Channel."‡

All this would seem to confirm Heiler's statement, and we might venture to affirm that what was so new and original in the person of St. Teresa and the Quietist Mystics who succeeded her penetrated here and met and mingled with current Lutheran and Reformed ideas. Hispano-French Quietism found within the frontiers of Anglicanism a footing, and this was largely perhaps through the adaptation of devotional literature.

There is a matter of interest which bears directly upon the development of Lutheranism at an earlier date, and with special reference to Spain and Italy. I refer to the work of Juan de Valdes, for this distinguished nobleman was responsible for introducing into Spain the principles of the Reformation. He was intimately associated with a group of Illuminati in Italy, and his sentiments were of a distinctly Lutheran nature. When his friend Bartholomé Carranza y Miranda, Archbishop of Toledo,§ was apprehended by the officers of the Inquisition, a tract upon the interpretation of Holy Scripture was discovered among the Primate's papers. This tract, it would appear, was the work of Valdes, and it contained a direct reference to the subject of Justification. Certain things in the tract were derived from the writings of Tauler. It is not necessary for our purpose to do more than point out the significant connection between Lutheranism and Mysticism of the German School;‖ the really interesting thing is that Nicholas Ferrar, who much

* See article in *The Month*, February, 1935.

† Hagedorn, *Reformation and Spanish Andachtsliterature*; see also article by writer in *Laudate*, June, 1935, p. 74.

‡ See Bremond, *Literary History of Religious Thought in France*, ch. xiii.

§ Carranza may be placed in the category of Pole, Morone, and Marco-Antonio Flaminio.

‖ I cannot agree with Berdyaev's assertion that German Mysticism is unfavourable to prophetism and apocalypticism.

admired the work of Valdes—*i.e.*, "the Hundred and ten Considerations treating of those things which are most profitable, most necessary, and most perfect in the Christian Profession"—sent the work to George Herbert in the autumn of 1662 asking for his opinion. Although there were things in the work of which Herbert did not approve, he said that he was of the opinion that it ought to be published. The matter which Herbert praised in the work bears directly upon the religion of the Spirit, and since Herbert distinguishes between believing by revelation and not by relation—*i.e.*, apprehension of the Gospel not as by teaching from others but by way of internal authentication—we have a very illuminating sidelight thrown upon the development of a particular type of Anglican piety. The type is that which attaches much importance to Church Order, and yet at the same time makes for the inner freedom of the Spirit, and in less balanced personalities can issue in practical revolution from Ecclesiastical Christianity. The independent spiritual life which characterizes the timeless brotherhood who join hands across the centuries is notoriously unsacerdotal in its implications, and when it ceases to be aristocratic and issues in popular movements for which the direct inspiration of the Spirit is claimed, then the stage is set for the inevitable clash between the Church and the Sectarian.

Herbert may be classed in that distinguished group of divines through whom we are carried on toward the Cambridge Platonists. Behind Herbert, Joseph Hall, Giles Fletcher, Francis Quarles and Crashaw, however, stand Sir Thomas Browne, Henry Montague, and those who form a connecting link with the tradition of Dame Julian and Rolle. Dr. Owst, in referring to Rolle and contrasting him with Wycliffe, who points to the "aggressiveness of Geneva" and "the later spokesmen of our Churches," says that Rolle represents a "deliberate turning away from the ordinary pulpit as from other haunts of men, with the thunder of the preacher and tub-thumper." . . . "Incendium Amoris proves its vast incomparable superiority over the theology and ethic of the 'Dies Iræ.'" For the "idly contemplative Rolle, with his steady glow, continues to warm and cheer our spirits long after flaming Lollard and Anabaptist have burnt themselves and their propaganda—not their enemies—to ashes."* The notion of "sudden violent action," the Apocalyptic triumph which when communicated to the masses so often issues in violent political and social upheaval both in Church and State, was repugnant to the type of mind which persists through English thought from Rolle to Herbert and later to the Cambridge Platonists.

* Owst, *Preaching in Mediæval England*, p. 130.

It must be borne in mind that while this tradition contains within itself an "unsacerdotalism" which can issue in a serious menace to Church Order, it need not necessarily issue in open conflict. The Church has frowned upon this type of thought, only tolerating its exponents so long as they have been content to bow to her authority, a thing which in the main Mystics have been prepared to do. Ecclesiastical condemnation and censure fall wide of the mark with men who for all their statements to the contrary regard themselves as beyond it. Such can afford to bow in submission, interpreting it in the sense of a yet further act of renunciation! Of their attitude toward those who refuse to listen or comprehend Dr. Owst applies the text, "And now I have told you before it come to pass. . . . Hereafter I will not talk much with you."

It cannot be denied that the Mystic constitutes for the Church a very serious problem. Origen, Erigena, Eckhart, Molinos and Fénelon may have been condemned, but for all that the religion of the Spirit and the doctrine of the indwelling of the Incarnate Word remain, and the teaching thereof is handed on to the next generation. The Mystics, broadly speaking, proclaim "the unalterable love of God to be the true and only moving cause of Christ's coming," and both in England and France subsequent to the Reformation stress is laid upon the necessity of Christ's Redemption as worked IN us as well as FOR us. Devotion and piety are concentrated upon the indwelling of the Incarnate Word IN us, and there is a deep sense of the Spirit's guidance; the Gospel is self-authenticating.

It is to be noted that the doctrine of the radical love of God has a strong tendency, where the Church sense is weak, to express itself in sectarian forms wherein the need for Ecclesiastical Order is completely rejected; in a certain sense this tendency is almost Monophysite. On the other hand, the doctrine of the love of God can afford a basis for a very real Christian Humanism; it can sustain a high type of Sacramentalism both in relation to the Church and her Sacraments; this, however, is worked out upon the basis of dynamic symbolism of the Augustinian kind. It is also a significant fact that with the exception of Zwinglian and Lutheran teaching this type of Sacramentalism has secured a firm footing, and especially in England.

There can be no doubt that there existed in England a mystical tradition and continuity of thought which, while running parallel to that on the Continent, was in essence one with it. The Reformation did not fundamentally affect the quality of life which is characteristic of it, inasmuch as that life was drawn from the deep of Christian experience. Pure

Calvinism, both in France and England, found in the representatives of it stubborn opponents. It is not surprising, therefore, that later, following the Platonist reaction, we have the "Latitude-men" and the plea for toleration. This, when it ran to seed, emerged in somewhat strange combination with pure Rationalism and the general decay of Church life. In France the development was much the same, save that there Rationalism came into violent conflict with the principles of Louis XIV. in the reigns of his successors. As the late Lord Morley has shewn, the "new rationalistic principle of spiritual emancipation" which owed so much to English thought subordinated the emotive in man to such an extent that it produced a terrific "reaction" in the "very heart of the school of illumination." Thus Rousseau triumphed and was able to pick up the threads of teaching inherent in the work of Fénelon. "The old idea was brought back in a new dress: the absolute conception of the function of authority, associated with Theistic doctrine."

Rousseau secularized much that Fénelon stood for; it may be that the malicious hint that Fénelon was Deist proceeded from a mind supremely and acutely conscious of the inevitable consequences of his teaching. It is noticeable that Fénelon, who never felt much distress with regard to miracles, and who could say "Sacraments, ceremonies, sacerdotalism, are but useful aids for the support of our frailty," became a firm Papalist and received Jesuit support in the hour of his trial. No doubt Louis XIV. and Bossuet, though absolutists of a lesser sort, were in the main instinctively right in their suspicions concerning him, and especially from the point of view of the old order. Though no one could perhaps associate Fénelon with Deism, yet he was an absolutist in the religious sphere, and he pointed to a new age. When in 1758 Rousseau and Diderot clashed, Rationalism paid the penalty, and Rousseau won. In reference to this incident Morley quotes Michelet's statement that Diderot seemed to have had a Biblical presentiment: "We feel that he saw, beyond Rousseau, something sinister, a spectre of the future, Diderot-Danton already looks in the face of Rousseau-Robespierre."* Nevertheless, it was this peculiar result that rendered the Romantic Movement feasible.

Morley regarded it as unfortunate for France that "Rousseau's idea prospered" and that "Rousseau's idea exactly fitted in with the political traditions and institutions of the country." If this be so, Fénelon has been more than justified in one direction at least, for, according to a writer in a certain Roman

* See Morley, *Diderot*, pp. 164-165, vol. i.

journal, "If de Maistre and Lamennais watered the seed that Fénelon had sown, we today are reaping the harvest. Gallicanism is dead; Action Française was its last kick." Out of the ashes of the conflagration of 1789, Catholicism, phœnix-like, arose to new life and vigour, and in a Liberal form confounding the Collective with the Ultramontane. In England the Catholic reaction was National so far as the Established Church went, and it held by the old absolutism in its National form. In Newman,* however, it took on a Liberal complexion, as also in France, until by an irony of history it stumbled upon the absolutistic stone of Papalism. If Fénelon foreshadowed a more Liberal age, it was the Fénelon of the "holy indifference," the "absolute resignation." But *amour désintéressé* carries with it the seed of an absolutism in religion which equally disposed him to submit to Rome, as it also lent colour to the suspicion that towards lesser absolutisms he was lukewarm or heading for revolution in Church and State.

"With Fénelon," says Viscount St. Cyres, "letters ceased to be the handmaid of the court, and became the mouthpiece of a new era of criticism and change. *Télémaque* is a prelude to the eighteenth century, the first low muttering of a storm that was to end with Rousseau and the Revolution." Attention has been already called to the adaptation and translation for the use of English readers of a great number of Roman books of devotion. This goes to shew a very considerable interest and a demand for such writings; it points to an intelligent appreciation of certain aspects of continental religion and to an awakening response.† It refutes the notion of utter isolation from the knowledge and influence of movements abroad. The process of give and take must have been very considerable at least between France and England. Indeed, ever since the rise of the Laudian School the wider apprehension of Catholic ideals and aspirations led not only to the discussion of the possibilities of Reunion, but to actual contacts with foreign divines, both Protestant and Catholic. Bremond was certainly not wrong when he wrote, "I have left untouched sundry chapters of Anglican history which would illustrate that of France." Laud himself had licensed non-Anglican works of spirituality. From time to time editions of the works of St. François de Sales continued to appear, and in many ways Caroline piety does indicate a new spirit which had begun to move upon the face of the religious confusion subsequent to the Reformation. The stern aspect of the Spanish School gives

* In Newman's case Liberal as judged by the idea dominating the Essay on Development of Christian Doctrine.

† The British Museum Catalogue contains a long list of Fénelon's works in English. See also Wickham Legg, *English Church Life*, pp. 347-348.

place to the more delicate and polite spirituality of the second phase of the Counter-Reformation. Calvinism likewise found itself confronted with the rising tide of Arminianism both in England and the Netherlands. So far as the spirituality of the second phase moved, it moved towards a more mystical plane and concentrated upon a certain passivity. In this no doubt it was influenced by the despotic theory of Monarchy, which reached its classic culmination in Louis XIV. Thus, while the political situation served to drive religion inwards, it also prepared the way for the "vapouring of Jean-Jacques."

Attention has already been called to the suggestion of Deism in reference to Fénelon, and the significance of his alliance with the Jesuits and likewise of his decided inclination for Papal absolutism. The Papacy had in reality no more devoted servant than the Archbishop of Cambrai, and had the general situation been less fraught with political consequence for the Grand Monarch and Pope Innocent, Fénelon might have escaped. The situation was still further complicated by the Jesuit insinuation that Bossuet's Gallican sympathies might lead to schism. In the person of Fénelon we have indeed the first breath of the coming storm; the spirit of Rousseau is in the air; in the deep-laid political and educational schemes of Fénelon, in his whole outlook there is a foreshadowing of it. The Archbishop is conscious that the day of reckoning is at hand. St. Cyres truly observes that "matters were past the power of Louis XIV. to mend." "Fénelon's letter of appeal to the King rings the Dies Iræ of the old régime; already the *débacle* has begun," a *débacle* of the most profound significance so far as the future of Europe was concerned. The tendency which comes to light in the teaching and character of Fénelon may be studied under another aspect in the field of Lutheran Pietism. There also we may perceive the religion of the spirit driven inwards upon itself by the external pressure of the secular power. The movement which had so long a history in the life of the Church, and which became so important a contributory factor in the Reformation, consisted in the all-transforming personal union of the soul with God.

This came, as it still comes, into conflict with the churchly and institutional element in religion. Mysticism played a very great part in the break-up of the Church civilization of mediæval Europe. The great structure reared by Scholasticism for the express purpose of establishing a synthesis between faith and reason broke down, and a strong reaction against intellectualism was largely due to the widespread scepticism which issued from the further attempt of Duns Scotus and his pupil

Ockham* to develop the great system of Aquinas. Although St. Thomas succeeded to an extraordinary degree in establishing the faith in relation to a philosophy which had in the first instance threatened to overcome it, those who followed him developed his work in such a way as to achieve results which defeated the end he had in view. A fantastic conclusion was reached that even the philosophically improbable ought to be accepted upon the sheer authority of the Church. Such a conclusion, whatever may be its merits, wrought an intolerable tension in men's minds, and they turned more and more towards Mysticism, to the irrational and subjective. Later this evinced itself in the teaching of Luther, whose doctrine of Justification by Faith "alone" drew much from mystical tradition. Indeed, Luther himself declared that his doctrine was in accord with that of the reformer John Wesel of Gansfoort, a disciple of Thomas Hammerken! Still more did he owe to John von Staupitz. From this remarkable man he learned the radical doctrine of the love of God, and it was he who pressed Luther to study Augustine and Bernard. The experience finally wrought in him a passion for the irrational, and the consequences of his own teaching when translated into actual life resulted not only in spiritual and social revolution, but moral upheaval, for to preserve the moral order he was forced to resort to the secular arm. Thus Lutheranism fell completely into the hands of the State, the State which Luther himself had contrasted with the idea of the Spiritual Church. It has been shewn very clearly by Troeltsch that if Catholicism failed to achieve a synthesis between the Gospel and the world, Lutheranism failed equally, or, as has been well said, "only succeeded in emphasizing the dualism between 'Love and Grace' and 'Law and Reason.'"

The difficulties resulting from the tension set up contributed to a theological compromise which in due course broke down; where Luther sowed so freely, Machiavelli reaped abundantly. A rapid decline in the ethical sphere of public life set in. Absolutism was now free to run its course. Lutheranism gave an immense drive to Quietism and the merely negative teaching of surrender in the face of the world of concrete reality and *Real Politic*. Indifference towards social problems now held to be outside the specific boundary of religion became the order of the day, and the first step was taken towards the de-Christianization of the State, which in its turn became more and more absolute and self-sufficient. But not only in Protestant States do we note the change; for the policy pursued by Louis XIV. had likewise the effect, as we have seen, of driving religion inward upon

* Not having seen Mr. E. Moody's *Logic of William of Ockham*, I see no reason to modify this opinion—*i.e.*, that Ockham divided Faith and Reason sharply.

itself, while in the actual world the development based upon the very antithesis of the Christian State led on towards the Revolution and the rise of Democratic and Liberal forms of government either utterly devoid of religion or hostile to it. The critical and humanistic factors of the Renaissance gradually contributed at the same time to the rise of a spurious Humanitarianism which enthroned man in the place of God. Religion became increasingly, like all else, departmental. Philosophy broke loose from any association with it. Calvinism even began a course which by mundane transformation ended in economics of a very questionable nature so far as the masses were concerned. Catholicism, though reformed as touching the Papacy, became by sheer force of external pressure more and more absolutistic. The break-up of Christendom was in many ways but the prelude to our present discontents, and the process illustrates the danger of stressing one factor alone—namely, the spiritual—and at the same time isolating it from all forms of political and social activity. The whole process of general atomization, as Berdyaev contends, was ontological in significance and in all respects fatal to the idea of the Christian community.

The world went on its own way; religion was shut off from all other departments of human activity, and Mysticism gained a mastery within the religious sphere which the Church found exceedingly hard to combat, since it offered refuge in a realm untouched by the reality of the world wherein there now seemed no opportunity for the more active virtues of the Christian. It was largely the atmosphere produced by this state of affairs which drove the Encyclopædists in the name of reason and humanity to attack the Church. The glaring contrast between religious profession and the condition of the mass of mankind was too obvious not to invite awkward questions. Both Quietist and Jansenist had advocated the means of escape, the first by means of "Holy Indifference," the other by retiring into a fortress of the most absolute character in the face of a wicked world. The Jesuits,* whose universal domination had begun to wane, made an effort to hold mankind by way of compromise; in this, despite the Tutiorism of Port Royal and the Protestants, they had the advantage; the majority of them were deeply tinctured by the second phase of the Counter-Reformation in its Salesian form, but their effort to deal with the situation only succeeded in drawing upon them much odium. Meanwhile, amid the general decay of virile Christianity, the lot of the common man became more intolerable, and the attack on religion,

* *Cf.* Mr. Christopher Dawson's remarks concerning the "uneconomic character" of Baroque Catholicism, *Colosseum*, December, 1935. See also A. L. Drummond's estimate, p. 27, *The Church Architecture of Protestantism*.

which was inevitable, set a match to the tinder which by 1770 was wellnigh ready to burst into flame. When Holbach's *System of Nature* appeared, the prelates might rage, Voltaire might hasten to defend the Deity upon the principle that religion has a police value, but it was too late. For a moment Holbach quite deliberately revealed to everyone that the Devil was at the door asking for payment. "In the midst of their high feast," says Lord Morley, "Holbach pointed to the finger of their own divinity, Reason, writing on the wall the appalling judgments that there is no God; that the universe is only matter in spontaneous movement; and, most grievous of all, that what men call their souls die with the death of the body, as music dies when the strings are broken."

Holbach's revelation undoubtedly gives point to the work of the author of the *New Heloisa*, and demonstrates why the victory lay with the great exponent of sentimentalism rather than with the apostles of Reason. Thus, strange as it may seem, Rousseau was able in a somewhat secularized form to hand on the teaching of Fénelon and the school he represented in such a way as to afford a basis for the Romantic Movement and the subsequent Catholic Revival. Even that great representative of reaction, de Maistre, could not claim to be uninfluenced by the work of Rousseau, though, as we might expect, he had no brief for him. It remained for the German philosophers to carry the Gospel of Reason a stage further, and how intimately this process was bound up with the fate of Russia in days to come we know, even though Diderot had long before begun the work which brought Russia so fatally into connection with French culture. It should not be forgotten that the Revolution, against which Burke* tiraded with the full force of his eloquence, owed much upon this side of the Channel to the work of Locke and Hume. It was unfortunate, too, that Descartes exercised so great an influence upon the Cambridge Platonists, though much that he taught agreed ill with their views upon the doctrine of immanence and the subject of ethics. We have already called attention to a point of contact between the Cambridge Platonists and the school that produced Fénelon. The relationship of Butler to this is to be observed where he touches upon "benevolence," which he presents as a natural quality grounded upon that which distinguishes the Cambridge Platonists from the ethical doctrine of Descartes.

In the light of today there is much in the thought and de-

* "Burke foresaw from the first what, if rationalism were allowed to run an unimpeded course, would be the really great business of the second half of his century," Morley, *Burke*; *cf.* also remarks on turning of "theological controversy to political controversy," p. 25; also Burke's mysticism and likeness to Bossuet as touching the old order.

velopment we have considered that has reference to the present situation. Amidst the general confusion there has been a very real danger of a reaction to Quietism in Religion and Absolutism in the State. The danger is far more subtle than it appears at first glance, for, generally speaking, though there is much talk and even manifestation of Christian action in social and political life, this also carries with it the possibility of increasing secularization, especially where, as in the minds of many, Catholicism is confounded with the Collective. It is possible here to fall into the hands of the Americanist in spite of the distinctly individualistic trait which Americanism has always preserved.

It is not surprising, therefore, that we are experiencing certain very marked manifestations of the Religion of the Spirit plus an increasing interest in Mysticism, whether it be Mysticism of the orthodox or pseudo kind. Not very long ago Dr. Jacks most rightly pointed out that "the quest for guidance in moral and spiritual affairs now active in the Groups is analogous to the demand for dictatorship in social and political affairs." It is a very curious fact that the mind of Fénelon, which played so great a part in the direction of the Holy Conspiracy for the purpose of extending the Kingdom of God, should have displayed itself in the most complete submission to the rising tide of Papal absolutism. If this be so, Morley was more than justified in pointing to the triumph of Rousseau at least in France as the triumph of the old principle which was "fixed so disastrously deep in the national character." He refers to that which was grounded in a spirituality divorced from reason, divorced, we should say, by the acceptance of a theory of the State which (in accordance with a principle to be found equally in the mediæval Church-State) of necessity demands "the suppression of opinions deemed to be anti-social by the secular arm. The old conception is brought back in a new dress: the absolute conception of the function of authority, associated with Theistic doctrine." Nothing in the light of that which has happened since 1789 could more plainly demonstrate the extraordinary situation produced by the atomization of Christendom.

The complexities of the situation are more serious than would appear upon the surface, since ultimately they have to do with the very being of man. Those who followed in the wake of Rousseau and formed the spearhead of the Catholic Revival on the Continent by a strange irony assumed a Liberal badge which brought them into conflict with the Papacy. The tragedy of Lamennais after all was but a commentary upon the great divide which persisted and persists as touching faith and reason.

Newman caught at its significance, but later the world was

to witness another spiritual tragedy in Tyrrell. Lamennais wrestled with Cartesianism, "the parent of social disorganization," a Rationalism that, as Professor Lasky says, could not "solve the central problems by which man was faced." The Modernist Movement which Tyrrell represented was at rock bottom connected with the whole problem of government. "It was the discussion of the particular form of community that was the main issue." Tyrrell perceived this fact, and against it he urged that before all things "Catholicism was a life." He could not allow the values of personality to be swallowed up in the absolutism of Rome, and thus he struck a contrast between "Autocracy and Democracy." Rome, however, could afford to wait, to move very slowly and profit by the sacrifice of Lamennais and Tyrrell, and rightly or wrongly it did in the long run force men to turn back upon that fundamental something which even in Burke* motived his violent reaction to the principles of 1789. Liberal Catholicism and Modernism, though they did much to clear the air, could not, from the very fact that they were themselves symptoms of the disintegration, provide a solution to the question of the nature of community, and of its relationship to authority. Mr. Basil Wrighton has very clearly pointed out that the Kantian revolution had confined them to the sphere of the practical reason. The sloughs of Pluralism, Subjectivism, and Pragmatism had yet to be painfully waded through before firm ground could be reached.

From one point of view, perhaps, the Papacy appreciated the position at stake, and alone remained firm and condensed the issue in the decree of 1870,† and later inspired the rise of the Neo-Thomist School. Moreover, it never really forswore the doctrine of Direct Power, though by force of circumstances it now relies upon the doctrine of Indirect Power!

But be these things as they may, infallible certitude born of religious experience can and does find much in common with the most complete embodiment of infallibility expressed in absolute form. The inner meaning of this, when related to the affirmation of those who contend for the primacy of religious experience with regard to the Person of Christ, is of interest, because it is just at this point that the Orthodox assertion that Romanism is only a step on the road towards Protestantism and subsequent scepticism appears to receive some support. Nevertheless the Orthodox, despite the influence of Khomiakov, have no less difficulty than the Westerns in dealing with the relationship of the actual to the ideal Church, even though they may excuse

* Burke was sensible to a stupendous Wisdom, "moulding together the great mysterious incorporation of the human race" (Morley).

† *Cf.* position to which De Maistre was driven, "the divinely inspired supremacy of the Pope"!

themselves on the score of never having made the attempt of Gregory VII. to make the City of God a reality upon earth.

It is extremely dangerous to base religion upon experience alone, apart from other equally important constituents such as the intellectual and institutional factors. Very grave and pressing philosophical and theological objections can be brought to bear upon a religion of experience. Further, without the Church conceived as the Body of Christ a "Communion of Saints," there is no adequate means of checking the subjective aberrations of the individual, and, so far as concerns the guidance of the Holy Spirit, it must be recalled that it was to the Church and not merely to individuals that the abiding gift of the Holy Ghost was promised. The real danger is a very old one—namely, that of spiritual pride and the consequent presumption peculiar to all forms of Illuminism and Election. Again the principle of Guidance does involve a most serious danger in relation to the jungle below the realm of immediate consciousness. The stream of Mysticism which has flowed down the ages, and which we have had under review, has again and again run riot in various sects and heresies which have had political and social consequences of the first magnitude. The Quietist and Pietist Movements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both of which are linked on to the most interesting and striking features of early Methodism in its more "enthusiastic" form, are examples of attempts to base religious certitude upon experience rather than reason. Their keynote is intense subjectivism, which in the Group Movement today expresses itself in the idea of what may be termed almost "finished salvation." We may notice in passing that the Groups have found in Scandinavia and Lutheran countries a fruitful soil.

It cannot be overlooked that the fundamental experience which lies behind this type of religion issues in an immediate demand for itself as the criterion of religious certitude. Thus arises the Dictatorship of the Spiritual in contrast to the existing order in Church and State. The problem of the Human is not really faced. At rock bottom, as Bossuet* saw, the religion of the Spirit spells Revolution. Fénelon realized it, but transferred his allegiance to an external and objective but no less Monophysite authority. If Bossuet instinctively feared Descartes on the one hand, on the other with as good a reason he dreaded the man who to so great an extent foreshadowed Rousseau. Bossuet was too good a historian and theologian not to perceive the dire consequences, but because he was himself a man of his own time, dominated by the lesser absolutism of Divine Right, he was unable to stem the tide; he felt, as it were,

* It will not do to write Bossuet off as "merely bourgeois."

the ground tremble beneath his feet. In him the old order, as also in Laud and Charles I., made a last stand.* The glow of mediæval Europe died down.

For any attempt really to deal with the situation one must look to Pascal. It is true that Reason marched on. After Rousseau, Robespierre. The skins of those enlightened persons who laughed at the Savoyard Vicar and his denouncement of the Holbachians certainly went to bind his second edition. We repeat that the hint of Deism with regard to the name of Fénelon was not without meaning for days to come. It remained for Newman to develop in some measure that which was latent in the mind of Pascal. Yet even so Newman did not successfully achieve the marriage of Faith and Reason, though he perceived the problem of the future and its reference to the Church. The issue of Liberalism subsequent to the ideas of 1789 was ever before his mind.

IVAN R. YOUNG.

CERTAIN GREEKS: A STUDY IN PASTORAL OPPORTUNITY

I

CAN WE SPARE THE TIME FOR THEM?

"WHEN," said the vicar ruefully, "I have signed Mrs. Wich's pension form, arranged the Sunday School treat, had tea with the mothers, looked in at the Scouts, inspected the Guides, seen the new billiard table at the Men's Club, selected the Lads' football team, attended the Library Committee and the Toc H guest night, I may be able to say my prayers or I may not."

Multiply the vicar by a thousand or so, and you have another chapter in John Bull's book, "What England is Thinking Today." Parochial activity in the twentieth century has been very largely identified with the activity of various clubs and voluntary societies. Some of these are not, strictly speaking, church societies. They are not under the control of the parish priest. But they demand a great deal of his time and fill the pages of the parish magazine. Nearly every parish has its Scout Troop, every town its Toc H, and soon, perhaps, every diocese will have its House Party. There are keen parish priests who say without hesitation that the time given to these movements is well spent. Others are doubtful. Experience

* I follow Dr. Figgis here in relating the developing of "Divine Right to the teaching of the Imperialist divines in their controversy with the Papalists."

has made them cautious and even critical. They feel, for instance, that the Scout Troop or the Toc H branch has not provided the opportunity for their ministry which they were led to expect. And younger clergy beginning their ministry are deterred.

In many cases this may be due to misunderstanding. The Boy Scout Commissioner or the Toc H secretary does not always understand, and the priest concerned does not always understand, that the movement exists because it meets a definite spiritual need and implies a pastoral method suitable to that need. Too many Scout Commissioners, for instance, regard the clergy merely as men who can provide recruits and troop headquarters. They may also consider that the vicar should approve such a means of attracting boys to his Sunday School or Catechism. Exceptional Scoutmasters may welcome exceptional vicars as visitors to the annual camp. But just as visitors! Very few are convinced that the priest has a definite function at the camp and in the life of the troop generally, a definite and special ministry which the troop both offers and needs. And too many parish priests merely regard the Scout troop as one of several organizations which serve as the sugar of attraction to coat the pill of instruction.

During my undergraduate days I discussed with the vicar of an industrial parish the possibility of starting some weekday organization for the boys attending Catechism. Scouts or Church Lads' Brigade—we thought either would do; we decided in favour of Scouts, chiefly because I preferred the Scoutmaster's uniform, and the vicar objected to boys carrying rifles. It never occurred to the vicar, and it never occurred to me, that the two organizations might not meet the same spiritual needs or meet them in the same way.

In the following pages I have tried to indicate the fuller possibilities, from the parish priest's point of view, of three of the most important movements of our time: the Boy Scouts, Toc H, and Oxford Groups. All three, I believe, were started in response to definite spiritual needs, and each therefore implies its own appropriate pastoral method.

Whether the parish priest intends to co-operate with the movements concerned or not, it is worth while studying them carefully. They have come into being because they answer some spiritual need not met by existing organizations. The Church required them. There is here no disparagement of the Church intended or justified. Every age with its changing conditions has its own special problems, and its own special needs. The Church has constantly to adjust methods and organizations to meet these conditions. Although they are,

so to speak, extra-mural organizations, it is legitimate to regard the movements we are considering as means by which the Church through her priesthood and laity (Scoutmasters, jobmasters, and others) has met these needs.

I am not suggesting that they are the only means of meeting them. All I am concerned to suggest at the moment is that the clergy cannot make the best of these organizations unless they first understand why they exist. There is a spiritual hunger to be diagnosed. It is a commonplace that we are faced by a modern pagan England, without religious teaching in home or school, to whom the Christian Church is but a name. Many, however, are restless. They are vaguely attracted. The boys and men and women who are seeking their way to God through these movements are like those "certain Greeks," hungering neighbours of favoured Jewry, who would see Jesus.

Some have seen Him. And I do not think it was by happy accident. Nor was it merely that the Scouts or the Groups provided an introduction to the parish priest who dealt with the enquirer in "the usual way." In many cases the enquirer would have not responded to the usual way.

As I have studied these movements and learned more of their inner history, the conviction has developed that there is an important distinction to be drawn between a *movement* and an organization, or a campaign planned and arranged by a committee. We can, I think, usefully restrict the term "movement" to describe those adventures of the human spirit which, from time to time, sweep the earth, enlisting the spontaneous support of ordinary people, borne along by their infectious enthusiasm. They need no committees to whip them to activity. The organizer's work, here, is not to plead for action, but to discipline it. In the early years of Toc H many more branches could have been started if only there had been trained men enough to lead them, and, in the Scout Movement, when the Great War called away the leaders, the boys themselves, with that enthusiasm which had never flagged from the first news of Brownsea island, carried on undismayed. Churchmen often find themselves wistfully envying the enthusiasm aroused by such movements. They watch them, half afraid lest they hinder more sober, more permanent efforts; half in gratitude that hearts should be touched and wills surrendered where they themselves had ceased to hope. If only, it is felt, they could be directed into channels more to their liking, channels made and designed by some church committee, avoiding the various extravagances they deplore! Attempts are sometimes made to start rival movements, duly pruned. In nearly every case they fail.

There are only two courses open: either to give the movement support and try to influence its course in the direction believed to be right, or else to ignore it. What we cannot do is to duplicate a spirit, or create it at our bidding. "The Spirit bloweth where it listeth. . . ." We can no more create a "movement" by committee resolution than we can make men good by Act of Parliament.

It should perhaps be emphasized that no attempt is made in these pages to give a full account of each movement. I write throughout from the standpoint of a parish priest concerned with two questions:

1. What light does each movement throw on the spiritual need of men and women today?

2. What method of helping them does it suggest?

I do not claim that mine is the only interpretation, either of need or cure. It may well be that the movements express other needs and provide other opportunities than those mentioned here. Nor do I claim that the pastoral methods suggested are either authorized by any kind of authority, within the Church or the movement concerned, or the only methods appropriate. I believe, indeed, that both the need and opportunity are greater than I have been able to indicate.

What is written has been suggested by a ten years' ministry at home and abroad, which, though "specialist" in character, has had a constant parochial background. I am greatly indebted to my friend, the Rev. A. D. Brooke, for suggestions and advice in preparing these pages. His help has been the more valuable because he belongs to a younger generation and is able to confirm certain conclusions from a more recent experience of parochial life in England.

II

THE SCOUT MOVEMENT

"The old knights, who were the scouts of the nation, were very religious. . . . Besides worshipping God in church, the knights always recognized His work in the things which He made, such as animals, plants, and scenery. And so it is with peace scouts today, that wherever they go they love the woodlands, the mountains and the prairies."—LORD BADEN-POWELL, *Scouting for Boys*, Camp Fire Yarn 22.

Our senior Scouts were camping out for the week-end. I arrived rather late on the Saturday evening and noticed that one of them was missing.

"Where's Dick?" I asked.

"We don't know," they replied. "He hasn't come yet. He couldn't get away when we did. He said he would follow.

If you go down the road, you may meet him: he ought to be here any minute now."

There was nothing for me to do in the "kitchen"—too many cooks spoil the broth—so I went to meet Dick.

The camp was perched on a shoulder of Cheviot hillside overlooking a wide tract of silent, deserted moorland. There was a slow sunset, and all the quiet brooding colours of a North-country sky. I could see no sign of Dick on the road, but, after walking half a mile, I saw his bicycle, set against a tumbling stone wall by the roadside. I rang the bell and shouted. Dick answered from the top of a ridge rising sharply above the road. Climbing up I found him lying in the heather, watching the sunset.

"How long have you been here?" I asked.

"I don't know. Perhaps twenty minutes. Out here like this you don't notice time."

He looked up, rather shyly.

"Makes you think of things, doesn't it?" he said.

It was this incident which attracted my attention to the fuller possibilities of Scouting—this incident, coupled perhaps with the remark of a perky Tenderfoot after the service in a country church.

"Why aren't all churches like that?" said the Tenderfoot. "Old and beautiful. I'd go more often if they were."

And the reply to Ted's Agnosticism: Ted declared his doubts at the Scouts' Own. How did we know there was a God at all?

"How do we know?" repeated Dick quietly. "Take him out to that place where the Roman wall crosses the fells, sir. Then he'll know!"

* * * * *

Any good book on Scouting emphasizes Nature-craft. To the onlooker the Scout Movement may be merely an organization, one of several, which puts boys into uniform, disciplines them and gives them moral instruction. All this is done in the church hall where once a week they splice ropes or wave flags. The annual camp is an extra, a prize for good attendance. A few, more discerning, may see in the patrol system a valuable method of selecting and training future leaders. But the Scout himself thinks of trails and tracks and woods and camp fires, and the annual camp is not a superficial extra but the essential crown of the year's activity. Scouting is Nature-craft.

Scouting came at a time when the boys of the West were being torn from Mother Earth and all that Mother Earth could teach them. In the cities they had many new advantages. They had large schools, tidy pavements, shops, libraries, tram-

cars. They had modern methods of teaching and carefully trained instructors. But they had these things at a price. They were missing all the training in resourcefulness and observation which the countryside may give. Scouting returned them to the school of Nature.

A man must begin here if he wishes to know what can be done for their minds and bodies, but he should also begin here if he wishes to know what Scouting can do for their souls. City life robbed the modern boy of much more than his native initiative and perception. It robbed him of the Divine Glory made manifest in sunrise and sunset and all the wide wonders of Nature. "Rock," said the urchin in a Sunday School to the teacher who told the parable of the house upon the sand, "rock; what's a rock? I've never seen one." The psalmist could lift his eyes to the hills or watch the eagle in the air. But the city boy cannot do so. He can only lift his eyes to skyscrapers and watch aeroplanes, and it needs a tutored sophistication to see the Divine Revelation in these. He is kept away from the real evidences of the Creator, and we marvel at his slow response to our makeshift arguments for the existence of God. He is never there when Nature summons man to worship, and we are surprised by his lack of reverence in some of our ugly city churches!

God is His own interpreter. In the glory of sunrise, the purity of the mountain stream and the deep silence of the hills, He speaks to young souls in ways too deep to be translated into other language. Revealed religion (so-called) is not a substitute for natural religion (so called); the twain are one; man needs both. That, I think, is one of the lessons of the Scout Movement. What Dr. Otto and others have been telling us in words, this living Youth Movement has been writing in fiery characters of activity: religion begins with reverence, and reverence is a response to a manifest God. Modern civilization makes this response more difficult. *The spiritual need implied by the Scout Movement is the need of a way of escape to the wide open spaces where man can learn his first essential lessons about the Eternal.*

In the Scout camp the spirit of youth may be stirred to deep reverence, and the pastoral opportunity provided by the movement centres in this camp. Once this is understood, once the full possibilities of camp are appreciated, the clergy may be less reluctant to give their choirboys leave for the annual camp, even if it means absence from their own parish church on two summer Sundays. They will, indeed, go further. They will encourage not just one annual camp a year, but three or four, and as many Nature outings as possible.

Every Scout camp, however, is not a call to worship; every Scout troop is not an aid to organized religion. I know what a Scout camp might be. But I also know what it very often is. 'Tis perhaps small wonder that the clergy, in too many cases, regard the annual exodus of tent poles and small boys in the local contractor's wagon with a very mild enthusiasm.

Contrasts are illuminating. As I write this chapter I have in my mind two very different camps with two very different religious atmospheres. In the first camp, religion is always an extra. The chaplain, if any, is an intruder. We begin with a staccato performance in the morning round the flag pole, the prayers read briskly, the parade dispersing with a feeling of "That's that . . . for the day." Religious duty duly performed! We have nodded good-morning to the Deity. There is no further reference to the subject until the evening, when one of two things happens. Either more prayers are read from a little book by a rather bored Scoutmaster at the end of the camp fire to a sleepy audience, or they are mumbled hurriedly within the tent by a matter-of-fact patrol leader as he tumbles into his blankets. (There is, of course, no reason why prayers should not be said at a camp fire or in the tent: complaint arises because of the way they are said rather than because of the place.) On Sundays there is a parade to the village church a mile away (perhaps to mollify the vicar), the boys arriving rather breathless to sing hymns which say they are already weary of earth, except for one, added for their special benefit, which emphasizes the assertion that they are little children or calls them soldiers. In the afternoon there is a Bible Class with a talk on the evils of Gambling. If the curate is in attendance there may be a church tent, specially furnished with altar frontal, two pews and two brass flower vases brought from the parish. Details vary, but they all give the same impression: religion is an extra duty, one among many, and a rather boring duty at that.

In the second kind of camp, religion is its very atmosphere. And every religious observance is suitable and natural. The chapel is a sanctuary in the woods, with an altar and cross made eagerly by the boys themselves. The hymn expresses the moment:

> **Hark, my soul, how everything**
> **Strives to serve our bounteous King. . . .**
> **Learn of birds and springs and flowers**
> **How to use thy nobler powers.**

Here there are services at daybreak, with time for quiet and recollection, and later in the day there may be other impromptu services: what more natural, during a track across country, than to pause on some hillside and say, "Isn't this glorious? Sup-

pose we thank our God for this ? Suppose we say a *Te Deum* together ?" And in the evening you may have your little book if you will, but other impromptu prayers, too, linking up the activities of the day, thanksgiving for that, apology perhaps for this, remembrance of mother and father at home, and (towards the end of the holiday) looking forward to the returning days in the city with the prayer that all that has been gained in the camp will be bravely held and practised in the duller days ahead. To help him in all this, the Scoutmaster will have a group of older boys—they ought to be his patrol leaders and seconds, of course—who have learned with him, in some smaller, preliminary camp, how to enjoy their religion thus and link up their activities to God's glory. There is a priest at camp and sacramental religion, beginning with the morning Eucharist, for where better can a boy learn to appreciate the sacramental principle of the Glory manifest in the outward and visible ? And there will be opportunity for quiet, individual talks on things which disturb and hinder, talks with the chaplain or the Scoutmaster, who have taken due care to avoid unnecessary, fussy employments and be free to talk, free to be alone in prayer.

All through the camp, in one way and another, the boy will be helped to give expression to what he feels vaguely, expression which will help him to retain and use the spiritual discoveries he is making. And, if he does not know it already, he will come to know that religion is the most natural thing in the world. Perhaps he will feel the contrast between the atmosphere of his camp fellowship and the atmosphere of his crowded home in the dull street, but the camp will leave him an ideal to be aimed at, and his Scoutmaster or chaplain will shew him how the Church with its services can help him to come nearer this ideal and realize this atmosphere more closely in his ordinary life.

To my own boys I once said something like this: "In this camp it has been easy to feel God's Presence round about us, hasn't it ? Easy to worship Him at sunset and sunrise. Partly, I think, because our surroundings are so beautiful. I sometimes wonder if our churches with their lofty naves and stone pillars were originally designed by men who had in mind the natural architecture of forest glades. In a beautiful church, at any rate, you should find it easier to remember what you have learned here and lift up your hearts to Almighty God in reverent worship. You will find it helpful to enter a church sometimes by yourself, when no service is being held, and kneel there in quiet to recollect God's presence."

Much obviously depends upon the leadership of the camp, and I believe it is most likely to be attained if the priest is his

own Scoutmaster. In his person he can unify all the different troops' activities in one central religious purpose, preaching and living a weekday Christianity with his boys. There is then no danger that the troop will be regarded as a separate activity with its separate standard. To be a Scout will be simply the boy's way of being a Christian.

In the larger camps—troop camps for twenty boys and upwards—there should, if possible, be somebody whose special task it is to attend to religious training and observance. The Scoutmaster may wish to do so. In fact, many Scoutmasters would rightly regard this as the very essence of their job. But, if so, he should have a reliable A.S.M., able to relieve him of the more routine details of camp management. Otherwise he may be perfunctory or "rushed" in his religious observances. He should be able, for instance, to leave the camp for at least fifteen minutes of quiet preparation before he takes camp prayers.

But if the Scoutmaster is a layman, no matter how keenly religious, he should have the help of a priest. There are opportunities at camp which only a priest can meet. In the larger cities parishes might well combine to release one or more of the clergy to visit different camps at the camp season, staying a short time at each, and holding Sunday services at all. By a slip of the pen, I wrote originally "one of the junior clergy." It was an instance of the tendency to regard youth as the chief qualification for this work or, worse still, to regard camp visits as extras which may well be left to the more inexperienced clergy. But the best camp priests I have known have been older men. And it is worse than shortsighted to regard camp visitation as an extra. Far from youth being a sufficient qualification, the priest's suitability needs to be very carefully considered. Some parish priests at camp are not only futile, they are a spiritual stumbling-block to the boys. And this is true, not only of unworthy men, but of some of the best parish priests in the Church. The reason is that they are insensitive to Nature as a means of grace. They have grown so accustomed to living without the daily ministry of Nature, so reliant on other means of grace, that they make no attempt to adapt their ministry to the new surroundings; they are unable to encourage the fluttering spirit of reverence in the boy's soul, because they have never experienced it this way themselves; they are unable to nurse the early quest for beauty, because they have never known it. They are good men, but out of place here. In Nature's temple they don't know how to behave. All unwitting, they are irreverent, committing the very sacrileges they would be the first to condemn if they

understood and if others committed them, in their church, in forms they did understand. They should give place to some man who loves God revealed in Nature with all his heart, with all his soul, with all his mind and with all his strength. He should also be equally sensitive to the indoor worship as well as the outdoor, the sacramentarian as well as the sacramental. He should be able to help the boy who has discovered the spirit of worship at camp to train that spirit away from camp so that his new experience enables him to make more, not less, of church attendance. I am very far from upholding the man who would substitute camp for church, a vague Nature worship for definite Christianity. All that I plead is that the priest who merely regards the Scout camp as a cheap holiday place or an out-of-doors parish church is not qualified to help his boys in the same way as the priest who knows the Voice in the garden.

Much, of course, depends on the camp site. The well-trained Scoutmaster will think of the water supply, the wood supply, and the drainage in selecting his site. But the man I have in mind will also think of the view, believing that—

> **Man's happiness, his flaunting honeyed flower of soul,**
> **Is his loving response to the wealth of Nature.**
> **Beauty is the prime motive of all his excellence,**
> **His aim and peaceful purpose.**
>
> R. H. L. SLATER.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA

A FOOTNOTE TO INTERCOMMUNION

THE present seeking for a reunited Christendom has brought with it a wide—and in some quarters vociferous—demand that intercommunion should take place at once between Anglicans and non-Episcopalians, as the path to a more concrete unity. The case is usually argued upon the basis of ministry. If the origins of episcopacy are not as clear as was once thought, then the case for the restricting of the sacramental society goes by default. Such a claim is clearly fallacious. Development and evolution must be allowed as playing their part within the growing Christian community. But the question of the ministry does not embrace the full scope of the problem of intercommunion, as is sometimes supposed. Dr. Langford James has called attention to the general neglect by Anglicans of the part which "intention" is bound to play in theology. The intention of the priesthood is involved in any official recognition of intercommunion with non-Episcopalians, such as the South India Scheme, for example, would recognize. If it is surrendered, the catholicity of the Church of England would be seriously imperilled.

The modern Anglican has very largely given up an autocratic view of the ministry as being solely imposed from without by Divine fiat. It is possible to find traces of such a view within the Tractarians, and it certainly underlies the Western view of Apostolic Succession as derived by the laying-on of hands from consecrator to consecrator without any reference to acceptance by the Church. The tendency within Anglicanism has been to learn of Frederick Denison Maurice and to look to the East for a solution of the theological difficulties. The theology of Bishop Westcott and of Canon Scott Holland has had a profound effect upon the modern Church of England, and it is substantially the democratic theology of Maurice in which priesthood is regarded not as something which has arisen solely from without, but as something which has also grown up from within. The priest is the representative of the democratic Christian community. Validity is given to his actions by his acceptance by the whole Church, and not merely by the imposition of hands.

The acceptance by the Church of England of the representative capacity of priesthood raises the greatest stumbling-block to intercommunion as a means to reunion. The priest must represent somebody. He represents the Catholic Church, and such representation implies substantial dogmatic agreement. A congregation such as is contemplated in some reunion schemes as being a fitting medium for intercommunion would include Methodists, who accept no priesthood of the ministry, Presbyterians, and the large body of Congregationalists, whose theology is quite heterogeneous and who, until recently, included Mr. Lenwood, who was Unitarian in theology, and Dr. Orchard, who was pro-Papalist. Although Canon Sheppard would probably regard such a group as suitable for intercommunion, yet they would seem to be but a collection of individuals. There are no substantial dogmatic ties, and members would

probably differ upon important fundamentals. Above all, they would differ upon the purpose for which they had gathered at the Altar. In spite of such authors as the late Dr. Wotherspoon, the Eucharistic theology of non-Episcopalians is of the Receptionist type.

The Eucharistic teaching of the Church of England includes, as Dr. Darwell Stone has made clear, both the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in conjunction with the consecrated elements and the doctrine that the Holy Eucharist is, in some sense, a sacrifice. It is true that other points of view have been urged at times within the Anglican Communion, but they are interpolators and do not accord with either the first sixteen centuries of Christian tradition or with the general stream of Anglican theology since the Reformation. The Anglican communicant is entitled to assume that there is substantial dogmatic agreement within the worshipping group, and that these doctrines, together with their implications, are assumed. He is entitled to believe that the priest is representing his intentions by ministering in the light of these doctrines. However widely Anglican doctrine may be stated upon these points, the Church of England as a part of Catholic Christendom stands within the Catholic tradition with regard to the Holy Eucharist.

If the intercommunion which is contemplated in some quarters were to come to pass, the situation would be entirely changed. In the interests of the reunion of Christendom, the Anglican altars would be open. There would be no guarantee of the intention of the worshippers, who might include many of such widely divergent opinions as those accepting Transubstantiation and the followers of Zwingli. Thus the Holy Eucharist would lose its social significance and become purely individualist in character, a definite blow at Christian democracy. The priest would not be certain of representing anybody save himself. Some sort of outward unity might be gained by this short cut to reunion, but the essential union of Christendom upon any solid foundation would seem to be as far off as ever.

The doctrine of the representative character of the priesthood implies a corporate intention on the part of the laity. If the priest represents nobody but himself, there is a choice of falling back upon either the view that priesthood is an autocratic function, which is a step in the direction of theological obscurantism, or upon the Protestant view that priesthood does not have any vital meaning. Neither view can really be acceptable in the present state of the Church of England. On the one hand, the leavening influence derived from such as Maurice and Scott Holland is a guard against a retrogression into a point of view which owes much of the purely next-worldly theology to the Counter-Reformation, whilst, on the other hand, any attempt to wean the Church of England from its catholicity would rend the whole Anglican Communion and would not find acceptance with the large body of Anglican Churchmen.

It is unfortunate that so much of the discussion upon the subject of home reunion has been conducted as if it were solely concerned with the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession and with the adjustment of varying conceptions of ministry. The manner in which the Anglican case has at times been set forth has suggested that this is the sole content of any dispute upon the subject of intercommunion with non-Episcopalians. The misunderstanding which has been provoked may be traced in the manifestos emanating from Evangelicals and Nonconformists. It has been suggested that the development of a Liberal Catholicism since the days of *Lux Mundi* has so broadened the issues that Anglicans may

adopt the principle of the Open Altar with ease. In reality the very reverse is the case, and an autocratic view of priesthood is, in the last resort, more possible to reconcile with such a principle than is the liberalism of, for example, Scott Holland. The whole subject of the intention of the congregation and of the representative capacity of the priest must be explored and reconciled before intercommunion can be justified theologically, or can be other than a disruptive factor.

F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT.

FROM A FREE CHURCHMAN

THE fierce battles between theologians might largely have been avoided if theologians had possessed the mystical temper. These battles have been caused by attempts at mathematically defining what cannot be mathematically defined. You cannot say *either—or*. The Christian mystic is "far ben." He does not use propositions as sharp alternatives. One thing may be true, but only superficially. He goes deeper and finds a deeper truth and a deeper still. The truths are not in conflict.

Thus, take the controversy about the Eucharist. The theologian says either the Eucharist is a simple memorial or you cannot escape the doctrine of transubstantiation. The mystical attitude to the Eucharist would be, I conceive, to admit that there is a mystery in it which may be partially scattered but will never disappear. The mystic would decline to choose between the memorial theory and the transubstantiation theory. To any theory of his own he would add a *plus*. . . .—

W. ROBERTSON NICOLL: *Life and Letters*, p. 397 (Letter to A. E. Waite).

NOTE ON REV. XV. 2

Rev. XV. 2: Ἔχοντας κιθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ.

THE conquerors have come victorious from the Beast and from the number of his name, 676, Nero Cæsar, type of persecuting Emperor, though the present Emperor is Domitian. Is it possible, then, that the Apocalyptist has in mind Nero as fiddler, whether over burning Rome or not—*qualis artifex pereo*? And he says: "There are better harps and better music than his—harps of God, and the Song of Moses, the servant of God, and the Song of the Lamb."

H. W. HAWORTH.

THE SCHOOL OF ENGLISH CHURCH MUSIC

THE School of English Church Music has issued its first annual report. It is a document of great interest, and it is to be hoped that all who care for Church music will obtain a copy of the report and learn for themselves what progress the school has made and what its needs are.

There has been this year an increase in the number of affiliated choirs. There are now 1,163 affiliated choirs. The country dioceses are strongly represented in this number. The large town dioceses seem to shew little interest in the school: presumably the large towns are occupied

in building schemes for new churches and halls and the reason for their apathy financial. Liverpool, for example, has only nine choirs affiliated, Birmingham seven, and Manchester only four.

Dr. Nicholson, in his report, regrets that the College of St. Nicholas is not used by clergymen and choirmasters as much as it might be. The advantages offered by the college are not sufficiently realized. Short courses can be taken at the college at almost any time and the cost is not large. Is it too much to hope that clergy and parish councils will encourage their choirmasters to take a course at St. Nicholas and, if necessary, pay the cost?

The appointment of a commissioner to assist the Director in visiting choirs, to give instruction and help, and to conduct choir gatherings is announced. Mr. Kenneth Malcolmson, Mus.Bac., is to be the commissioner. Mr. Malcolmson, who was formerly organist of Exeter College, Oxford, is a fine choir-trainer, and his work should prove of great value.

O. R. CLARKE.

CORRESPONDENCE

A CRITICAL NOTE ON "THE LOGIC OF BIRTH CONTROL" CRITICIZED

SIR,

It seems to me that your correspondent on this subject in your May number refutes himself out of his own mouth. For he claims that marriage is supernatural as a whole; and that all the three purposes mentioned in the Prayer Book must be considered as making up the spiritual union. Surely, then, to isolate any of these from the other two in practice is to break that unity, and at once to render the situation void of spiritual value. His claim that my logic would land me in advocating sexual intercourse outside marriage so long as the procreation of children was the end in view does look convincing at first sight, but will not, I think, bear close examination. For it really introduces another question: whether the parents' duty ends with the birth of children. As my article dealt only with the sexual side of marriage, it naturally ended there; but I should be quite prepared to argue for the duty of parents to bring up their own children—in which case the act of procreation would have to be kept within the marriage bond.

Your correspondent's accusation that my argument rules out all uses of the sex instinct other than for the purpose of procreation as an abuse is rather too arbitrary. Perhaps I should have added the word "deliberate" uses; but I thought that your readers would assume that to be my meaning. I can see no moral objection to sexual intercourse during pregnancy, or when the wife is past the child-bearing age, because in neither case is the Law of God being violated. Although not very fond of the gamble of practising this during what is known as the "safe" period, I certainly think that a case could be made out for it on the same ground, since it is apparently part of God's plan that conception should be rare at such times.

Finally your correspondent's quotation from the Lambeth Resolution does not prove that the Bishops did not advocate birth control for economic reasons, but only that they demanded that such reasons should be very carefully scrutinized. His italics are very arbitrary here. As a matter of

fact I chose this reason as a defence of Lambeth, not as an attack upon it. For it seemed to me that the growth of economic distress since 1920 was the one excuse that their Lordships had for revoking the view expressed upon it in that year. The whole resolution is indeed honeycombed with ambiguities; and, while one respects the immense difficulties with which the Bishops were faced, it is impossible not to regret a resolution from which everybody seems to have found his own view vindicated at some point.

ASHLEY SAMPSON.

31, HARRINGTON GARDENS, S.W. 7.

TWO PRAYERS

DEAR MR. EDITOR,

I think it may interest the readers of THEOLOGY to see the Morning and Evening Prayers which I enclose, since they are written by hand, in almost entirely faded ink, in a copy of Bishop Ken's *An Exposition on the Church Catechism, or the Practice of Divine Love*, printed London, 1686.

This volume, which has recently come into my possession, was the subject of an article in THEOLOGY some years ago. It contains a note to say that the book was given by Bishop Ken to Robert Nelson, the eminent non-juring layman (in the script of Robert Nelson himself), and the pages are closely annotated with quotations from Latin and Greek authors, the last pages containing the morning and evening prayers written in a scholarly hand by the said Robert Nelson.

You may care to print these two prayers with the preface of these remarks, since many people who have read them express a desire to publish these devotions, copied verbatim.

Yours faithfully,

CECIL COOPER.

THE DEANERY,
CARLISLE.

A SHORT PRAYER FOR YE MORNING

Almighty and Eternall God Who hast created me after thine own image and likeness and hast made me capable of loving thee and enjoying thee eternally, I adore thee in all humility as my Sovereign L^{d}. Give me I beseech thee such a sense of thine infinite goodness, as to return to thee all possible love and obedience. O my God upon Whom all things depend, I acknowledge I have nothing but what is the effect of thy Bounty—Bless the Lord therefore o my soul, and declare his loving kindness—I humbly and heartily thank thee for all the graces and favours thou hast bestowed upon me, particularly for making me a member of the Catholic Church, for preserving me this night and the rest of my life from innumerable accidents and dangers.

I most humbly, O God, implore thy pardon and mercy thro' Jesus Christ thy only Son Our L^{d}, and am heartily sorry yt I have offended thee. I detest my sins because they displease thee, Who art infinite Goodness. I am resolved by the assistance of thy grace not to return any more to folly, but to avoid all occasions of evill, and to live better for ye time to come. I dedicate to thee my body and soul and all yt I am, and because the weakness of my nature can do nothing without thee,

assist me I beseech y^{e} by thy grace, Yt all that I shall suffer this day may lead to thy glory and ye salvation of my own soul. Defend me this day by thy Almighty power from sin and danger. Grant yt all my thoughts, words, and actions may be so guided by thy Spirit as to be acceptable in thy sight, thro' Jesus Christ Our L^{d} who has taught me, when I pray to say Our father etc.

For the Evening

I adore thee, o God, Who art present all this time. I praise thee, I love thee, I acknowledge thee as the father of mercy and the fountain of all goodness. I heartily thank thee thro' Jesus C. thy only son our Ld for all the effects of thy love and kindness towards me. My God wth all humility, I beg thy mercy and forgiveness thro' thy son Jesus C. our L^{d}. I am heartily yt I have offended thee, I abhor my sins because they displease thee, who art infinite goodness—I solemly promise by the help of thy grace, not to commit them any more, to avoid the occasions and to live better for the time to come. deal not wth me O God according to my sins, neither reward me according to my iniquities, but showre on me the effects of thy unspeakable mercy; deliver me from these punishm^{s} I have deserved, all evill and mischeif, from ye snares of the devil, from my own evill inclinations, and from a sudden death, and having bestowed on me the grace of true repentance, grant yt I may persevere in obedience to thee all the days of my life. Teach me to be always upon my guard and watch wthout ceasing, because my enemy the devil goes up and down like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour, Give me strength O Lord to resist him, and to continue firm in thy holy faith; Visit O Lord this habitation, and keep att a distance from me all the snares of my enemy the devil. Let thy holy angells preserve me in safety and let thy blessing always rest upon me, thro' Jesus C. our L^{d} in whose name I offer my imperfect devotions, saying Our father etc.

SOME CRITICAL ASSUMPTIONS

Sir,

On the basis of Aramaisms which they claim to have detected in the Greek text of the Gospel according to St. John, Burney and others have postulated an Aramaic original of which our present text is a translation, the Aramaisms being due, presumably, to the lack of skill of the translator. But this seems to me to overlook the possibility that St. John (or the Elder John, if *he* really did exist and really did write the Gospel) was bilingual; anybody who has any acquaintance with, *e.g.*, English as written by an educated Welshman will know full well that grammatical constructions peculiar to the one language will creep into the other.

A second matter: it is often assumed that because, *e.g.*, Irenæus flourished in the latter part of the second century, he could have no good knowledge of the events in the latter part of the first. Equally it might be alleged that men living in the mid-part of the twentieth century can have no good knowledge of events in the mid-part of the nineteenth (apart, of course, from what has been preserved in writing in the modern case), yet there must be many hundreds living now, and who may reasonably expect to be alive in 1950-60, who like myself knew men who had fought

in the Crimean War and /or the Indian Mutiny, and who will remember, at the centenaries of those events, the first-hand information they heard years previously—that is, the lives of two individuals can span a century easily.

And yet another matter: such a passage as Luke xxi. 20 is taken as evidence that the Gospel cannot have been compiled until after the Fall of Jerusalem (incidentally this argument seems to me to assume that our Lord had less foresight than we should regard as normal in a sane man, but that is beside the argument). By the same token, we must assume that any private diaries or published work which depicts the late Earl Roberts as having foreseen an Anglo-German war (say) in 1908 must have been written after the summer of 1914, whatever its pretended date may be.

To conclude, some of the ideas and methods of the critic may seem all right in the study, but when they are brought out into the market-place and compared with real life . . .

I am, sir,
Yours faithfully,
W. REES WRIGHT.

THE RECTORY,
LOCHGILPHEAD,
ARGYLL.

NOTES ON PERIODICALS

THE April issue of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* concludes Father Bardy's article on false and fraudulent literature in Christian antiquity. It is a huge subject, and in the course of his treatment of it he brings to light not a little out-of-the-way information. Father Mollat examines "grâces expectatives" in the time of Philip of Valois. Father Debongnie writes a striking account of the conversion of St. Vincent de Paul. Father Madoz analyses the authenticity of new sermons of St. Augustine, confirmed by the Council of Seville of 619. Father Martin deals with a discourse on the Ascension ascribed to St. Cyril of Alexandria. Father Esposito throws light on a heretical sect found at Medina del Campo in 1459. Father Antheunis examines the obscurity surrounding Sir Edward Stanley (1564-1639), an English Jesuit working in the Spanish Low Countries. Last of all Fathers Auvroy and Joufrrey plead for another edition of the letters of R. P. Charles de Condren, and they add to our knowledge of the unpublished material at the disposal of such an edition.

R. H. M.

REVIEWS

From Christ to Constantine. The Rise and Growth of the Early Church (*c.* A.D. 30 to 337). By James Mackinnon, D.D., LL.D. Longmans. 18s.

In this book Dr. Mackinnon has made available for a larger public the lectures which he used to give to students in the University of Edinburgh. There are, at any rate in English, far too few books on this period of Church History as a whole, and those who are interested in the history and origin of the greatest of all societies may well be grateful to Dr. Mackinnon for having undertaken this task. The period up to the death of Constantine presents great difficulties to the historian. He has plenty of ancient material upon which to draw, but it is all rather vague and elusive, and sometimes even contradictory. It hints and suggests, but rarely states a fact, or provides a clear and incontestable picture. And then, the beginnings of the Christian Church are of such importance to Christians who are anxious to find there the authentic source of their present-day beliefs and practices. There is no part of history, perhaps, in which it is harder for the historian to preserve impartiality, and to judge the facts by the historical evidence, on its merits.

Dr. Mackinnon writes in the preface to this book that "its standpoint is that of the independent historian, who examines, ascertains, judges and interprets. This independence is not always conspicuous in the case of the purely ecclesiastical historian." That Dr. Mackinnon has endeavoured to maintain that independence is beyond question, that he has succeeded is not so certain. I, who write from another point of view, seem to detect at all points the unmistakable influence of a theory of Church government which is associated with such names as Harnack, Sohm and Hatch, and of a dogmatic and sacramental theology which may perhaps be labelled "liberal-protestant-nonconformist." Let me give a few examples. The Didache is assumed without question or argument to give authentic information about the origin of the Christian Ministry: there is much talk of a "general Charismatic Ministry of Apostles, Prophets and Teachers: the earliest bishops are assumed to be congregational and not territorial . . . it (episcopacy) may be regarded as the prototype of the modern non-episcopal churches, in which the threefold ministry of bishop or pastor, elders and deacons has been adopted." Again, when speaking of St. Paul and the Eucharist he finds it necessary to state that St. Paul "emphasizes its spiritual character and effects." "Christ is truly present in the elements only to him who by faith 'discerns

the body,' or discriminates between the material symbol and that which it symbolizes." Or, when speaking of Cyprian and the baptismal controversy, "Neither side seems to have grasped the fact that a ceremony like baptism is only after all a symbolic act."

Dr. Mackinnon has, in general, a deep-rooted mistrust of all development in ecclesiastical organization and doctrine, which he regards as a "secularization" and an "infiltration" of pagan ideas and customs. He would like to see as little of it as possible, and profoundly regrets any clear statement of orthodox beliefs because it necessarily stigmatizes its opposite as heretical. For this reason he has only a qualified approval for St. Athanasius —"though highly gifted and deeply religious, he was evidently deficient in the historic sense. . . . He seems to have been incapable of distinguishing between the Christ of this record" (His own authentic testimony) "and the Christ of the Johannine writings." Arianism, on the other hand, was, "whatever its demerits as a theology . . . a plea for liberty of theological discussion."

The book is divided into seven parts. Of these the first three, dealing with the pagan and Jewish background, the Gospels and Acts, and the Pauline writings, cover ground already traversed by the writer in his earlier books, and the last, "the Victory of the Catholic Church," is a rather summary treatment of the Diocletian persecutions and the reign of Constantine. The core of this book of 572 pages deals with the development of the Church from the sub-apostolic age to the death of Origen. There are copious references in the notes to both ancient and modern sources, and some notable omissions. It would obviously be unfair to look in a textbook of this kind for an exhaustive discussion of every controversial point—and what point in this period is not controversial?—but a student has a right to expect accurate information as to the latest positions which have been taken up by various authorities. But Dr. Mackinnon dismisses in a mere footnote the important question of the alleged interpolations in Cyprian's *De Unitate*. In view of the writings of Chapman it is surely insufficient to say baldly, "The passages in section 4 ascribing a primacy over the Church to Peter, and making him the exclusive foundation of it, are later interpolations designed to suggest the later papal claims to supremacy." Again, in dealing with the whole subject of the papal claims in the first three centuries there is no mention of Caspar's book, nor, in treating of the events which preceded the Council of Nicæa, of the theory of Schwartz. Of the question of the early development of Church organization, the work of C. H. Turner is ignored, and in the discussion on the Edict of Milan, the real point of the theories which deny that there ever was such an edict is not properly appreciated.

The arrangement of the material is admirable. The subjects dealt with are kept carefully apart. Thus we are given first a history of the external events, expansion, persecutions and so on; then come the inner development, ministry, worship, ethics, theology. This brings us to *c.* A.D. 150. For the succeeding century we are given a similar sequence, and considerable space is devoted to gnosticism and the first heresies and schisms. Then a separate part, VI., is given to an account of Christian apologetics and the attitude of Christian thinkers towards pagan philosophy and culture. It would be a good thing if all Church historians followed this example, and clearly detached Christian theology directed towards pagans from Christian theology dealing with internal disputes.

On the persecutions he has a great deal to say. He argues strongly that Christians were never persecuted "for the name," but were always condemned on some particular charge, generally on that of Atheism. But he is equally insistent that up to the time of Gallienus, Christianity was a *religio illicita*. He does not make very clear to the reader why, in that case, the Romans should have thought it necessary to prove guilt of any other offence than that of practising such an illegal religion, in other words of having the name of Christian. No admirer of St. Cyprian will enjoy reading this book. Dr. Mackinnon has very hard things to say of him. He never forgives him for leaving Carthage during the persecutions, and accuses him of a domineering arrogance in exalting the episcopal office at the expense of other sections of the Christian community; he precipitated a schism by his excessive claims to obedience with respect to the African clergy on the question of the lapsed, and endangered one by his wilful obstinacy in holding to the new-fangled doctrine of re-baptism, with respect to Rome.

In spite of Dr. Mackinnon's claim to the contrary—"it is not a mere textbook but a reasoned and critical survey of the evolution of the early Church"—this book must be regarded as a textbook, and not a wholly reliable one at that. On the other hand, if used with caution, it provides a great deal of information in a compact form, a very useful list of ancient sources, and a good modern bibliography down to about the year 1925. If I have drawn attention to the faults of the book rather than to its merits, that is because I am afraid lest the writer's charm which emerges clearly from the printed page, and the learning with which the book is packed, should beguile the unwary reader into accepting all its discussions and statements as established truth.

ROBERT MORTIMER.

NOTICES

THE MEANING OF HISTORY. By Nicolas Berdyaev. Geoffrey Bles, The Centenary Press. 8s. 6d.

The writer of a short review can hardly hope, in the case of a book like this, to do more than give it enthusiastic commendation. Its theme, it is true, is very much of a unity, and the argument is closely knit from start to finish. But the book (which is most admirably translated from the original Russian) is so packed with matter and profound reflection that one may well despair of giving the reader a succinct account of its contents. It must suffice to say that it deserves to rank among the most striking contributions to religious thought in our generation, and that it should be read without fail by all who desire to gain a deeper insight into God's ways of dealing with His children and, in particular, to understand the present critical "tide in the affairs of men." Its purpose is to outline a "philosophy of history": and here we may say at once that Berdyaev's range of accomplishment in regard to both history and philosophy makes one painfully conscious of the extraordinary *insularity* of most English thinking. No one who possesses even a slight knowledge of the currents of thought and aspiration, political and religious, on the Continent during the last two or three generations can fail to be struck not only by the ignorance of even educated English people on such matters, but also by their cheerful determination to avoid taking any steps to dissipate it. It is this attitude of mind which handicaps us so severely in dealing with foreign affairs. One section of public opinion exclaims at Fascism and Nazism, another at Bolshevism; but few make any attempt to understand the causes that have brought these phenomena into existence or the problems that they are trying to solve—in the logical thoroughgoing way which is native to the continental mind, but from which our Anglo-Saxon muddle-headedness shies away. However little such movements may appeal to us, we ought at least to try and give them sympathetic understanding as symptoms of a deep-rooted *maladie du siècle*. It is here that such a book as this may come in to help, incidentally compelling the reader (as it has compelled the present reviewer) to ask himself how much beyond their names he knows of the many influential thinkers to whom allusion is made. It is true that, being based on lectures delivered in 1922, it does not deal specifically with the new systems that have leaped into such portentous power and significance since that date. But we are enabled to see how their emergence was inevitable in the circumstances—indeed, the book exhibits an almost prophetic quality in this respect. It is also "prophetic" in the higher and truer sense, as a diagnosis of the ills from which our present unhappy world is suffering and as an indication of the path along which alone the healing of the nations can be procured. Berdyaev's thought is profoundly Christian; indeed, it is almost meaningless to those who will not accept the Incarnation as the central fact of history or are determined to confine the destinies of mankind to the terrestrial sphere. For him history is a "tragedy," the outcome of man's awful endowment of freedom which enables him to choose evil as well as good, and to cut himself off, if he wills, from the Divine principle which is the true centre of his life and the sole hope of his happiness. And the resolution of that tragedy, the catharsis, can only take place in the world of eternity. All human cultures

and societies perish in the long run: the doctrine of progress "in a straight line" as preached by nineteenth-century optimism is not only false and discredited, but was essentially immoral in its ruthless sacrifice of all previous generations to a hypothetical terrestrial beatitude at the last. Only "on the plane and in the perspective of eternity, of eternal reality, can the tragedy of history be solved."

C. S. PHILLIPS.

ISRAEL'S WISDOM LITERATURE: ITS BEARING ON THEOLOGY AND THE HISTORY OF RELIGION. By O. S. Rankin, B.D., D.Litt. 12s. 6d.

In his Preface to this interesting and valuable work Dr. Rankin says: "The study of the Wisdom literature may be described as being of major importance, since in these writings can be traced more clearly than in any other single line of study the development of theological and religious conceptions which Judaism bequeathed to the Gospels and to later Christian thought. Here also can be followed more closely than elsewhere those cross-currents of thought within Judaism itself upon issues of supreme consequence." Though somewhat of an overstatement, there is much truth in these words; and we share Dr. Rankin's regret that "appreciation of the Wisdom-writings cannot be said to be general"; indeed, we should rather be inclined to say that it is exceptional.

Dr. Rankin's investigations take him into many regions of thought, and we must express our admiration for the thoroughness and insight which are characteristic of his work. One criticism may be permitted: we get the impression at times that Dr. Rankin is apt to inject too much modern thought into the minds of the Wisdom-writers; the interpretation which we may give to their words does not always necessarily represent what they thought or meant. We have noticed this tendency in some other writers; it is certainly difficult for us, with our modern way of envisaging things, to get at the back of the mind of ancient thinkers; but the danger of imputing to them modes of thought with which we are familiar must be guarded against.

The great range of subject-matter dealt with by Dr. Rankin makes it difficult to do his work full justice in a review; we must, therefore, restrict ourselves to giving a general conspectus of its contents, adding that while, here and there, we find ourselves in disagreement with his views, for the most part all scholars, we are convinced, will fully endorse all that he says.

In the opening chapter the Wisdom literature, as a whole, is briefly considered from the humanistic point of view. The interest of the Wisdom-writers in man led them on to think of God as Creator as man's relation to Him. Then arises the question of Divine and human responsibility; the cause of suffering; the origin of evil; sin in man; free will; and the doctrine of predestination. The subjects naturally take us a long way from the Wisdom literature, but they are a necessary preliminary. In the chapters which follow, the ideas of individual responsibility and of reward and retribution in the Old Testament, the belief in the future life, and monotheism, are dealt with, together with a large variety of subjects which arise from them, all of great interest and learning and admirably documented. But it is here that our second point of criticism must be mentioned—viz., that the Wisdom literature recedes too much into the

background; not that it is entirely ignored, but there is very little of it in evidence. Even in the concluding chapter on "The Figure of Wisdom," where we look for something in special connection with the title of the book, there is comparatively little about the Wisdom literature. This does not, however, affect the value and interest of Dr. Rankin's book in other directions—a book after the reading of which one feels a wiser man.

W. O. E. Oesterley.

THE WOOD: AN OUTLINE OF CHRISTIANITY. By C.S.M.V. With a Foreword by Bishop Neville Talbot, D.D. Heffer. 3s. 6d.

This is a book of which you must give a copy to all your godchildren. It is an attempt, gallant and gay and generous, to present the Catholic religion synoptically. The authoress, a Sister of C.S.M.V., feels that we have been taught religion in compartments, Old Testament, New Testament, Church History, and Doctrine, and that many of us have no clear view of Christianity as a whole. We cannot see the wood for the trees. So in 200 pages, devout, vivid, and enthusiastic, she gives us a conspectus. Old Testament, New Testament, and Church History are treated continuously, and the connecting links are doctrinal. The outlook is that of a sane Liberal Catholicism. The results of the Higher Criticism are assumed and woven into the story of religious evolution. An unnamed artist has supplied tailpieces to some of the chapters which are a joy to look at, and express the main ideas of the book: the Mountain up which Humanity climbs to the City of God; the Bridge which spans the gulf between God and fallen mankind; the Ship which, suffering strange transformations, voyages from the quay of Judaism to the port of Heaven. These are all similes of transition; and the sense of movement and progress pervades the book and gives it vitality and interest. There are three key-texts, "golden words," which serve as clues to mark the main transition-points—"So Abram went"; "Behold, the handmaid of the Lord"; "It is finished"—and there is one conception which governs the whole course of evolution, the truth, or trustworthiness, of God. The book ends with an illuminating chapter on the prophecies of the consummation now awaiting fulfilment.

Sane specimens of the Sister's powers of expression are worth reproducing. Here is a compressed statement of the doctrine of the Suffering Servant: "The servant is a victim, himself spotless as one of the sacrificial lambs, and like them offered for the sins of others, but with this difference, that he willingly offers himself, thus combining priestly and prophetic ideals of righteousness in a death which is at once sacrifice and personal moral act." Here is an unforgettable comparison of the four Gospels: "Mark is a snapshot; Matthew and Luke are professional photographs; John is a portrait by a master hand." Here is a piece of linguistic insight: "When a smith says of a sword-blade, 'It is finished,' he means that it is now ready for use." Here is a flash of the authentic spirit of Easter: "The women . . . missed the lovely laughter in the angel's intimation." Here is a metaphor which gives sectarianism its due without compromising Catholicism, and all in one line! "The boats were still the *ship's* boats, and all are on the same course." Here is an epigram in the after-dinner manner: "James II. crowned a lifetime of *faux pas* by producing at the eleventh hour an inconvenient and Roman Catholic son."

A Scottish bishop must be allowed one grumble. Why does the

Sister say that Sir Walter Scott joined the English Church? It is true that he happened to be married in an English church, but his own statement is that he was "a member of the ancient though suffering Episcopal Church of Scotland," and his children were all baptized in St. George's, York Place, under the Bishop of Edinburgh's jurisdiction.

KENNETH BRECHIN.

BIBLE AND SPADE: AN INTRODUCTION TO BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY. By Stephen L. Caiger, B.D. Oxford University Press. 5s.

Archæology is the most esoteric of all branches of Biblical study. It has a language of its own, it deals with material which is accessible to the ordinary student in small selections—even those can be seen, as a rule, only in photographs—and the importance of individual items is clear to few besides the highly trained specialist. A book, therefore, which can give the plain man some insight into the results of archæological research is of the highest value.

Mr. Caiger has set himself "to give a general survey . . . of the main discoveries of archæology as far as they concern the Old Testament, especially on its historical side." Few readers will deny his claim to complete success. For the first time we have, in a light, popular form, a treatment of each of the main periods of Old Testament history, and, as far as we can judge, the work is both reliable and comprehensive. Mr. Caiger writes simply and clearly, while the numerous photographs with which the work is enriched enable us to follow the more easily the course of his work. It may be true that the rapid progress of archæology will soon render some of the conclusions obsolete (already Albright has given good reasons for dating the famous "Lachish letters" ten or fifteen years later than the time to which they were originally assigned), and Mr. Caiger seems to give more weight to the opinions of Dr. Yahuda than would be allowed by most archæologists, Egyptologists, and Biblical scholars. Drawbacks of this kind, however, are inevitable, and the book may be strongly recommended as an admirable introduction to one of the most important and fascinating studies of modern times.

T. H. ROBINSON.

CHRISTIANITY AND RACE. By Johannes Pinsk. Essays in Order, New Series, No. 2. Sheed and Ward. 2s. 6d.

This monograph is of little consequence, except in so far as it presents with unaccustomed sharpness the issue between Romanism and Catholicism. The writer is concerned particularly with the problem of Christianity in the Third Reich, but his conclusions are intended to possess "an all-round validity." After some preliminary juggling with the Pauline texts (1 Cor. xii. 13; Gal. iii. 26, 28; Col. iii. 11), he propounds his thesis that "*as the body of Christ was that of a Jewish man, so is the bodily manifestation of the Spirit of Christ in the Church that of the Roman-Hellenistic culture*"—that is, as Abbot Vonier says, "the whole Mediterranean culture of the early years of the Roman Empire when Christ was born." In other words, his exegesis of 1 Cor. xii. 13 is "In one Spirit were we all, whether Jews or Gentiles, baptized into one *Roman-Hellenistic-cultural* body"; and "God's life in the Church is bound to visible signs" pertaining to this Roman-Hellenistic culture. Thus, for example, as regards the Christian

sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, "the Church created no new forms, but she took the forms as they already existed in Roman Hellenism," in the Mystery cults, "and then on her side gave these forms a new content"; similarly, the New Testament conception of Christ's "Kingdom" (with St. Peter as its "administrative head" on earth) exhibits a "similarity of structure to the Roman Imperium." In short, "the Spirit of Christ has in organization, doctrine, and mediation of life, essentially fulfilled the forms of Roman Hellenism. . . . That these forms are not universal world-forms, but are in their nature essentially peculiar to Roman Hellenism, does not make them any the less binding on all nations. Here the problem of the Church of the Nations appears in all its acuteness," particularly for the Germans, since the principle of their traditional religious attitude, the innate disposition of the German soul, for better or for worse, is *Eigenmässigkeit* (self-sufficiency): which is the explanation why German Catholicism has always been regarded with "a certain distrust" by "the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome." For the piety of the Germans, by contrast with the Anglicans "even today," suffers from the historic accident that their remote progenitors, "the Germanic races of the Continent," lacked those links with the ancient Roman-Hellenistic spirituality which "the Britons and Irish" had enjoyed.

"Even Catholics," says Abbot Vonier in his slightly incoherent Foreword, "may, at first sight, be unprepared for such strong meat." It may respectfully be suggested that the meat in question is not so much "strong" as "high." For this good Berlin doctor seems strangely unfamiliar with the work of many modern scholars, and, although spiced and peppered with the very latest racial ideology, his thesis has "a very ancient and fish-like smell." Apart from his curious excursions into New Testament exegesis, he appears to ignore the Jewish origins of the Christian sacraments and the radical contrast between the Eucharist and the pagan Mysteries; nor does he seem to be conscious even of the existence of the Eastern Church. The Abbot of Buckfast admits that "the axiom of Dr. Pinsk bristles with difficulties; some of them he answers in this book, many he leaves untouched." Yet for himself he thinks that Dr. Pinsk is right; and he discovers corroborative evidence in the fact that, as regards the question whether there will one day be a purely (*sic*) Chinese or Japanese Christianity, "in practice, during the last four hundred years missionary work in those regions has been Latin, quite on the lines of principles expanded in this book."

Of course, it is self-evident that Christianity has "a definite character which may, and which in fact does, jar on many racial idiosyncrasies; so that it is true to say that a race cannot accept Christ, cannot be incorporated into the Church, unless it actually surrenders some of its racial peculiarities." But this cuts both ways; and we may take the liberty of commending to the exegetical ingenuity of Dr. Pinsk yet another Pauline text relating to that Mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage.

CHARLES SMYTH.

JOHN BUNYAN, MECHANICK PREACHER. By William York Tindall. Columbia University Press: Humphrey Milford. 17s. 6d.

Mr. Tindall's thesis combats successfully the conventional view of Bunyan as "a kind of seventeenth-century Phœnix, surprisingly vocal and splendidly alone." The truth of the matter is that "Bunyan was one

of a great number of eloquent tinkers, cobblers, and tailors; he thought what they thought, felt what they felt, and wrote according to their conventions; he was one of hundreds of literary mechanicks, and he can be considered unique only by virtue of his survival to our day as the sole conspicuous representative of a class of men from whom he differed less in kind than in degree. . . . Bunyan has survived, while they have perished, not because he was essentially different from these forgotten men, but because his conventional expression was somewhat elevated by his genius." In fact, he was only *primus inter pares*; and it is the merit of Mr. Tindall's historical analysis that it studies him among his peers and not in isolation from them. In consequence, and by virtue of the author's exhaustive researches among "about two thousand" contemporary tracts, it throws new light upon the religious, social, economic, political and homiletic currents of the age, supplementing not only the biographies of Bunyan (of which the Rev. John Brown's is still the best), but also such standard works in their respective spheres as Burrage's *Early English Dissenters*, Gooch and Lester's *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Richardson's *English Preachers and Preaching*, 1640-1670, and Mitchell's *English Pulpit Oratory*. Mr. Tindall is further to be congratulated on his identification of *By-ends* and *Ignorance* with the Rev. Edward Fowler, Rector of Northill in Bedfordshire and subsequently Bishop of Gloucester, and on his elucidation of Bunyan's connection with the *Strange and Terrible Newes from Cambridge* of the alleged bewitching of Margaret Pryor by the Quakers in 1659.

Of all these matters Mr. Tindall writes as a curious observer, with portentous erudition, but with little sympathy or understanding. The mere fact that each chapter is introduced by a quotation from *Hudibras* is itself a sufficient indication that among the mysteries of religious psychology even the most erudite of Instructors in English at Columbia University may find himself hopelessly beyond his depth. Like the children in Charles Marson's *Huppim and Muppim and Ard*, who knew "all about St. Paul except the Faith which he preached and which justified him," Mr. Tindall appears to know everything about Bunyan except the really essential things. His manner is sprightly, supercilious, cynical and uncomprehending. The style of polished irony, which is the most difficult of all literary styles, and of which the Rev. Professor Norman Sykes is so consummate and so discreet a master, wobbles uneasily in Mr. Tindall's pages between a pompous facetiousness and a facetious pomposity, while here and there his language, no doubt unconsciously, is quite gratuitously offensive. The result (to borrow one of his own phrases) is a "tedious and discouraging history," erudite indeed, and indispensable to any student of the period, but essentially ignoble; to which the excerpts from Bunyan and other mechanick preachers, Quakers and Ranters and the like, lend from time to time a sadly alien note of spiritual and moral dignity.

CHARLES SMYTH.

THE INSIGHT OF THE CURÉ D'ARS. Vol. II. By Canon Francis Trocher, D.Litt. Burns Oates and Washbourne. 10s. 6d.

No doubt there is a large public for this sort of book, but it is hard to see how any intelligent person can take it seriously. It belongs presumably to what is called the "literature of edification"; and it may

produce the effect at which it aims if it does not produce the opposite effect (as it probably will in the case of most Anglicans) of exciting incredulity and a distaste for the whole system it represents. No one will wish to deny the profound holiness of the Curé d'Ars. What one cannot understand is how it can be imagined that the sort of story served up in such abundance in this book helps in any material way to *prove* that holiness. It is quite obvious (inasmuch as there must be a substratum of truth at the bottom of these staggering narratives) that the Curé was the possessor of "psychic" powers. These were entirely in keeping with what we know to have been in many ways an abnormal psychological "make-up." But the same powers are equally possessed by the more respectable type of clairvoyant. The holiness of the Curé consisted not in the presence of these powers, but in the use he made of them, which was no doubt always prompted by the purest and highest motives. One wishes that the same could be said of the multitudes who flocked to his confessional with the object of availing themselves of them. But it is clear even from the pious tales in this volume that many who consulted him went to him exactly as they would have gone to any ordinary fortune-teller with a reputation—to get advice on worldly matters, to assure themselves that they might escape an unwelcome sacrifice, or from an unhallowed desire to elude the merciful dispensation of God by which the future is veiled from our eyes. Further, whatever element of truth these stories may contain, one does not need to have a very sceptical intelligence to refuse to accept them as they stand. Anyone who has had experience of a certain type of religious mind, with its avid craving for "signs and wonders," will feel that without being in the least deliberate liars, such people can make themselves believe anything, especially if (as in the case of many of these stories) the narrators are ignorant peasants or octogenarian nuns. The whole book is permeated through and through by a false conception of the supernatural and of God's way of dealing with His children. Perhaps the most precious gem in the collection is the contribution (p. 195) of a worthy Canon who tells how a father "decided to go to Ars solely for the purpose of asking M. Vianney (the Curé), *whose power to soften the heart of God had become proverbial* (the italics are ours), to say a prayer for his son's success" in an examination.

C. S. Phillips.

The History of Jewish Christianity, from the First to the Twentieth Century. By Hugh J. Schonfield. Duckworth. 7s. 6d. net.

This is an interesting book. It claims to be the first attempt at providing a connected story of the specifically Jewish or Nazarene section of the Christian Church from the beginning, and, after the disappearance of the Nazarene Church as a distinct entity, of the contribution of Jewish Christians to religion.

The author maintains that St. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, was the unofficial leader of the patriotic party in Jerusalem, and that the Nazarene Christians were in close alliance and sympathy with the patriotic Jews and Zealots. They believed that the Messiah had already come in the Person of Jesus; otherwise there was no great divergence in doctrine or practice between them and the mass of non-Christian Jews, while there was on the other hand a definite cleavage between them and the Gentile, or Pauline, Christians.

He considers that the Book of Revelation is a message from one of

the Nazarene leaders, deported like many other Jews after the war, to the Christian communities of Asia Minor, explaining to them in cryptic language the state of affairs in Judæa and bidding them hold fast to the faith as their calamities were signs of the Lord's speedy return. The Didache he claims as a Jewish Christian document. The capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 and successive persecutions of the Jews, among whom Jewish Christians were included, brought the Nazarene group very low, and after the disastrous revolt under Bar-Kochba, a pseudo-Messiah, A.D. 133, Jewish Christianity never regained its position of importance, and the Church and its adherents were relegated to the position of an heretical sect. The accession of Constantine gave tolerance to the Christians, but inaugurated a fresh persecution of the Jews, one result being a new type of Christian, the forced convert from Judaism.

The author has collected a very large amount of information about (1) the fate of this Nazarene group, (2) achievements of individual Jewish Christians after its practical extinction as a separate entity, and (3) the persecutions of Jews by the Church through the Middle Ages and since. He gives a number of quotations, many of them from little known and not easily accessible works. He has also illustrated his book with a number of most interesting reproductions of, to the majority, inaccessible pictures and engravings.

The author looks forward to the revival of an independent Jewish Christian religious communion united by a common allegiance to Jesus as Messiah, and, apparently, apart from this, by the acceptance of a Jewish rather than a specifically Christian faith.

Though one may not agree with the doctrinal standpoint of the author, or with his conclusions, he is to be congratulated on a book containing much interesting and useful information, that is not easily come by.

C. P. S. CLARKE.

MAGDALEN STUDIES. By R. D. Middleton, M.A. S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.

Following in the steps of Dean Burgon, who wrote the *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, Mr. Middleton has described ten members of Magdalen College who were representatives or, in two instances, precursors of the Oxford Movement. He has had access to a considerable amount of unpublished material from the Magdalen Library and the Oratory at Birmingham, which was for so long Newman's home, and has produced a most interesting series of sketches. It begins naturally enough with President Routh, who kept alive patristic study in Oxford during its deadest period, and was in his hundredth year when he died in 1854, after having reigned over the College for sixty-three years. Next comes Dr. Bloxam, who had been Newman's curate at Littlemore, and venerated him to the end of his life, while never wavering in his Anglican allegiance. At Magdalen his name will always be remembered as the College historian who instituted the Christmas Eve festivities and turned the celebration of May morning on the Tower into a seemly religious observance. Incidentally, it is to be hoped that Holman Hunt's picture of this, which forms the frontispiece to the volume, will not be taken by future generations as a piece of historical evidence for the details of the scene. Some of the portraits, which include Dr. Bloxam, are excellent, but the choirboys do not, in fact, wear garlands, nor is President Warren likely to have ever had a Parsee for a supporter.

Dr. Routh's successor, Frederick Bulley, needed only brief mention. The Palmer brothers who follow were very unlike each other in temperament and career. William revived public interest in the Russian Church and then joined the Roman, while Roundell, afterwards Lord Selborne, climbed the ladder of legal distinction and became Lord Chancellor and a pillar of Church and State. The only one of the ten good Magdalen men who undoubtedly ranks as a Tractarian leader was J. B. Mozley. Oxford was slow in recognizing his genius. "He tumbled into a third," said Dean Church, "and vainly knocked at the door of Fellowships, till Routh gave him one at Magdalen." His idiosyncrasies as a preacher and his hold on the best minds at Oxford, in spite of them, were described by Canon Scott Holland in a passage happily included in the volume (p. 170). Always an independent thinker, in later years he departed from the Tractarian tradition in regard to Baptismal Regeneration. His essays and his sermons reveal a mind of singular power and depth.

Two smaller men who went to Rome, Henry Best and Bernard Smith, hardly deserve the space allotted to them, and we might have been spared the painful details of a controversy, given in two appendices, about the latter's resignation of his living. A much more attractive figure is R. W. Sibthorp, who combined spiritual power and devotion with a curious inability to make up his mind. Having twice changed his ecclesiastical allegiance, he died a Roman Catholic, but by his own request was buried with the Anglican rite.

The last portrait in the book is that of H. R. Bramley, known as "Peter" to irreverent undergraduates when he was Dean of Divinity at Magdalen. One who had his first College breakfast in his rooms, and in later years was in touch with him at Lincoln, can bear witness both to his personal charm and his power of incisive criticism. "Cataracts of flowers" lingers in the mind as his judgment on the sermons of an eloquent clerical neighbour. When his faculties began to fail, the torch of memory was always relit when conversation turned on his beloved College, of which he had been a Fellow from 1858-1905.

Magdalen Studies is an eminently readable book, which will be enjoyed not only by Magdalen men, but by all who are interested in the great Church movement of the nineteenth century. A few misprints may be noted. Dr. Hampden is called Hampton on pp. 137-8, and in the somewhat scanty index, on p. 247, Queensbury should be Queensberry; in two Latin inscriptions which are given, "pitietur" (p. 28) and "obiti" (p. 250) seem to stand for "propitietur" and "obiit."

J. C. Du Buisson.

My Experiments with Death. By Richard de Bary. Longmans. 6s.

The author of this unusual and highly imaginative book believes that he has discovered a technique whereby he can pass through the gate of death at will, and bring us tidings of the country that lies beyond. (The technique is the interpretation of dreams.)

I will not here argue whether such a thing is possible or not; I will merely point out that we are not necessarily qualified to report on a place or state because of our presence there.

We once had a lovely golden Persian cat, Leo by name, who lived long and intimately with us. He was extremely intelligent, and we called him our Christian cat, because he never missed family prayers. He must

have spoken well of us to his friends, for, after his death, five or six of them came and applied for the vacant post of house cat. If Leo, for his many virtues and charms, should ever be born again as a human being, he will, I am sure, understand that his reports of abundant fish and milk, caresses and cushions, did not give an adequate account of our household. He had seen us with cat's eyes, and his thoughts and comments were cat thoughts.

Dear author, your book is full of noble thoughts, but they are human thoughts, and they are worthless. If you have another such book on hand, tear up your manuscript, for you are but pandering to the weak and morbid curiosity of your readers. Take for your evening meditation our Lord's promise that where He is, there shall we be also—and let your own notions go. I wish you dreamless sleep.

ÆLFRIDA TILLYARD.

THE RENAISSANCE. By F. Funck-Brentano. G. Bles. 10s. 6d.

The author writes a popular work on the Renaissance, and its main merit is the success by which he contrives to unite together its many-sidedness and to show how it prepared the way for the Reformation. There are no footnotes and no bibliography. In Italy and Germany, though not in France, the spread of the Renaissance was largely the work of the Universities. In the towns, with the rich merchant or the dignitary of the Church, the new learning gained ground. Against the asceticism of the Middle Ages the author contrasts the paganism of the Renaissance, for he is as well aware of the rule of the Borgias as he is of the art of Michael Angelo or the craft of Nicholas Machiavelli. Mr. Funck-Brentano examines the solution the Renaissance provided for its problems by resort to antiquity. Is there, however, a solution? Plato refutes his predecessors; the Peripatetics refute him. The Stoics refute Aristotle; others refute the Stoics. Epicurus refutes them; the Sceptics in turn refute them all. They cannot, for example, tell us if the *soul* lives after death. What is truth? For Protagoras man is the measure of things; there is no universal truth. For Plato truth is in mind which is the principle of all knowledge, in the conformity of changing and perishable realities to the eternal types which constitute our reason. For Aristotle, according to Pico, truth lies in the value of the senses which furnish the intellect with material to be explored. For Carneades truth is not in reason, not in the senses, but in external representations. Man is the dupe, the toy of phenomena, catching glimpses of the truth. Let us admire, Pico—a true Renaissance scholar if ever there was one—tells us, the temple of human wisdom. It is surely well guarded, as the author perceives. Pyrrhonism will not open its gates. Is Pyrrhonism true? If it were, it would in its turn be a dogmatism, and, after having shaken everything, it falls the victim to its own arms, reason. Knowledge has closed her doors; reason is bankrupt. Only in religion can man find truth and happiness. Like Luther, Pico offers up intelligence as a sacrifice on the altar of faith. The reformer was comparatively ignorant, but he thought much and felt more. Like Hobbes, if he had read as much as other people, he would have known as little as they. After all, Pascal, Descartes, and Rousseau were not well-read men, but who exerted a greater influence on mankind than they?

R. H. MURRAY.

Printed in Great Britain by Billing and Sons Ltd., Guildford and Esher